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COMMENT

The people of California will vote in November on a proposed amendment to the constitution giving the state railroad commission exclusive power to grant franchises to street and interurban railways.

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The Republican ballot in the recent primary in the St. Louis district was a narrow strip six feet long. Is it fair to blame the primary if poor candidates are nominated?

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We are glad to announce that Mr. Paul B. Wilcox has consented to become associate editor of the REVIEW in charge of city manager affairs. Mr. Wilcox is secretary of the City Managers' Association. His address is East Cleveland, Ohio.

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An Institute of Public Administration has been organized in England. In it are united for the first time the civil servants (*i.e.*, national government servants) and the local government officials. Lord Haldane is a vice-president. The purpose of the Institute is to develop public service as a profession by the study of public administration. A quarterly journal will be published and series of lectures arranged extending to several of the larger cities.

Sufficient petitions have been collected in Dayton, Ohio, to bring about an election on a return to the mayor and council plan of government. The proposed charter calls for the election of a mayor, vice-mayor, auditor, treasurer, city solicitor and twelve councilmen elected by wards. It is generally believed, however, that city manager government has nothing to fear and that an election will be effective in silencing some persistent kickers. The election will probably come in November.

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During the first half of the present fiscal year the division of public works of New Orleans exceeded its budget in repairing the admittedly bad streets inherited from the previous administration. The finance commission now proposes that other departments which are ahead of their budgets contribute to the maintenance of the streets. This the directors of the departments refuse to do and there have been sharp words about "inefficient management." The situation illustrates the grievous limitation of government by commission. Proper centralized planning and supervision is lacking, and the people of New Orleans will have to get over the broken-down streets as best they may.

Out Again In Again

Life has not been dull for city manager government in Stratford, Conn. As recorded in our May number, the city council without previous warning voted to oust the manager, R. H. Hunter, the specific charges being that he had ordered two ash cans before signing the requisition therefor, and by ordering a coal bin filled, had bought seven tons of coal when he meant to buy but five. At once the indignant citizens petitioned for the recall of the councilmen who had voted to discharge Mr. Hunter. Efforts on the part of council to prevent a recall election were frustrated by appeal to the courts, and at the subsequent election five councilmen were recalled and replaced by those favoring the manager form. The new council quickly invited Mr. Hunter to return to Stratford, so after an enforced vacation he is back on the job. The story has all the dramatic qualities of a movie scenario.

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People Approve Nebraska Code

In the Republican gubernatorial primary held in Nebraska during the latter part of July, the administrative code adopted in 1919 was the main issue. For almost four years the administrative organization set up by the code has been the subject of attack by certain members of the legislature and others within the state. Three candidates ran in the primary. Mr. Byrum, a member of the house, stood for the repeal of the code and the consolidation of the work of the six code departments with the constitutional administrative offices. Mr. McMullen, formerly a member of the legislature and a candidate for nomination against Governor McKelvie two years ago, was not favorable to the continuation of the code organization. Mr. Randall, a member of the state senate, was a consistent supporter of the code. The results of the primary show that the people of the state, at least those that voted the Republican ticket, are in favor of maintaining the code organization. Mr. Randall was nominated for governor over Mr. McMullen. Mr. Byrum ran a poor third; in fact, he got only one vote in every ten cast at the primary.

A. E. B.

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Are Postmasters Under Civil Service?

It will be remembered that President Harding by the executive order of May, 10, 1921, continued the cooperation of the civil service commission in the selection of presidential postmasters but with modifications upon the earlier Wilson order to provide that the first three on the list should be eligible instead of the highest man only. It now transpires that the postmaster general is soliciting the recommendation of congressmen as to which of the three eligibles he shall appoint. "Other things being equal," writes Dr. Work, "we send to the president the name of a Republican, if there is one on the list." The reason for this, continues the postmaster general, is that the president may be surrounded by friends and well-wishers and not by persons in pivotal positions who would put snares under his feet. He also observes that for the president to limit himself to the appointment of the first on the list, prepared by his own civil service commission, would be a surrender of his constitutional right to appoint. Surely the postmaster general needs better advice on constitutional law than he has been getting.

The president, surrounded by well-wishing postmasters, is a picture to gladden the heart of any politician. Think of all the political work he can get out of them. Yet as a matter of fact, the necessity of postmasters in

political sympathy with the president so that his key men will be "sympathetic" is mere buncombe. What is required is a professional attitude towards their work and freedom from political obligations. Mr. Foulke, writing to Dr. Work, scores when he states that the solicitation of advice from congressmen with reference to appointments is a blunt warning to members of other parties not to compete. In fact such practice would be illegal if such postmasterships were among the positions regularly classified under federal statute.

There is a popular impression that postmasters are selected under the merit system. We wonder if it is true.

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A Standard Zoning Act

Mr. Hoover's Advisory Committee on Zoning has reported a standard zoning enabling act for adoption by state legislatures. The committee points out that even in home rule states the courts have set aside zoning ordinances on the ground that the city had not been granted specific power to do that which zoning implies. No constitutional amendment is necessary but an enabling act is important. A prominent feature of the model act is a board of adjustment to review the orders of administrative officials charged with the enforcement of the zoning ordinance. To upset such an order, however, concurrence of four of the five members of this board is necessary. The zoning ordinance, once adopted, may be modified by simple majority vote of the city council, but should twenty percent of the property owners directly affected protest such change, the concurrence of three-fourths of council is necessary.

The scope of zoning is defined as the regulation and restriction of "The height, number of stories and size of buildings and other structures, the percentage of lot that may be occupied, the size of yards, courts and other open spaces, the density of population, and the location and the use of buildings, structures, and land for trade, industry, residence or other purposes."

The purpose of zoning is admirably defined in the act as

> Regulations made in accordance with comprehensive plan and designed to lessen congestion in streets; to secure safety from fire, panic and dangers; to promote health and general welfare; to provide adequate light and air; to prevent the overcrowding of land; to avoid undue concentration of population; to facilitate the adequate provision of transportation, water, sewerage, schools, parks and other public requirements.

The nation is deeply indebted to Mr. Hoover for this advisory committee which has displayed unusual energy in the cause of zoning. A supplementary publication dealing with zoning ordinances is forthcoming. The League's representative of this committee is Nelson P. Lewis and J. Horace McFarland represents the American Civic Association.

Copies of the standard enabling act can be obtained free of charge from The Division of Building and Housing, Department of Commerce, Washington, D. C.

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The Conference Committee and the Tariff

On September13 seventy-five Democratic congressmen joined with 102 Republicans in a motion to recommit the tariff bill to the conference committee which had reported it, with instructions to strike out the dye embargo provision and to place fertilizer potash on the free list.

The conference committee is an old device for ironing out differences between the two houses regarding a specific measure. While the practical advantages of such a committee as a means

of reaching an agreement are obvious, several harmful features are present. Such committees always work in secret. Their reports usually reach the houses towards the close of the session when members are tired of the subject and the congestion of bills is great. From the nature of the case, these reports must be accepted or rejected *in toto* and to recommit means long delay. It is seen therefore that pressure is all in the direction of the adoption of the report.

What we have in fact is a miniature legislature.

Although the rules or precedents of both houses compel a conference committee to confine itself to the differences submitted to them, the constant tendency is for the managers to inject wholly new matter into their reports. Time and again conference reports have been rejected by the speaker because the conferees transcended their powers, on the other hand such reports have been received. Obviously the power and menace of the conference managers is thereby increased to the danger point.

In this particular conference committee, congressional "efficiency" minus responsible leadership displayed a threatening aspect. The Democratic conferees, although duly appointed to the committee, were excluded from its deliberations.

The dye embargo, which the committee reincorporated in the bill, had been considered and specifically rejected by both houses. The introduction of new matter by the powerful conference committee, itself contrary to the rules, may be defended on occasion, but it is raw usurpation for it to cover in propositions which the two houses have each voted down. Fortunately, 177 congressmen had sufficient pride in themselves as members of a self-determinate legislature to resist this last display of hidden power.

Once more has been demonstrated for us the terrific gap in our political philosophy which blithely omits machinery for responsible legislative leadership. We still like to think of congress as an august cross-roads debating society where everyone speaks with respectful attention from the others. We hate to think that congress debates, not for purposes of deliberation, but to attract newspaper attention back home. We hate to think that power in legislation gravitates to the few who, by reason of personality and experience, steer congressional action; in other words, give congress a direction. But such is the case. The speaker, the rules committee, the majority leader, two or three important committee chairmen run things. We as private citizens are only beginning to hold them to a degree of responsibility, and this responsibility cannot be clear cut because the leaders are too hard to get at and because their power comes from hidden sources.

Thus the conduct of the conference committee on the tariff appears as a natural development in a congressional system adapting itself to a new and more complex environment. We don't have a fair chance to choose our leaders.

COUNTY MANAGER CHARTER DEFEATED IN SACRAMENTO

BY IRVIN ENGLER
Sacramento, California

Although the proposed charter retained on the elective list numerous administrative offices in conjunction with a large and representative board of supervisors, the voters declined to adopt it. The old-fashioned county, said they, may need a little patching up, but nothing so radical as this. :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

FOURTEEN thousand voters of Sacramento county, California, expressed a willingness at an election on August 29 to take the step which would have made this the first county in the United States to have the manager form of government. However, 17,674 voters were of an opposite frame of mind, so Sacramento county will continue under the method whereby the heads of all branches of the government—legislative, executive and judicial—are elective.

In view of the fact that the people of the city of Sacramento recently adopted the city manager form by a vote of more than five to one, and the additional fact that the new method is generally regarded a success by Sacramento taxpayers, the result of the movement for a county manager charter would seem a surprise but for the peculiar features of the campaign which preceded the election.

The county manager charter, as drafted, was essentially the same as the city manager charter which appears to be quite popular with the people of Sacramento; it embodied the salient points of the manager plan, proposing to centralize authority and responsibility in a single executive. The board of freeholders, which drafted the charter, was a fairly representative body of citizens, headed by a well-known physician.

OPPONENTS GOT THE JUMP

It would seem that such a situation would tend to bring the force of popularity behind the movement, and for a time it appeared that public sentiment was so inclined. Those sponsoring the move, however, made the mistake of not having an effective organization to carry their message to the voters. "The city manager charter went across easy; the county manager charter should do the same," appeared to be their attitude. Meanwhile the opposition was decidedly active. County districts vigorously opposed the charter, taking the stand that under its provisions they would not be adequately represented in the legislative body of the county. The force of their opposition added to that of incumbent county officials who just as vigorously attacked other features of the charter, made the opposing army a very formidable one. Moreover, the opposition made a strategic political move; it beat the other side to the punch, so that when the forces favoring the charter awakened they found themselves on the defensive, with the remaining time so short that they could not recover. At no time did the county charter proponents have an organization to compare with that which carried the city manager charter to success. Perhaps the

most peculiar feature of the campaign was the fact that the newspaper which opposed the city manager charter supported the county charter, while the newspaper which strongly supported the city manager movement was just as pronounced in its opposition to the county manager charter.

ARGUMENTS—PRO AND CON

The principal points raised in objection to the charter were:

First, the usual objection to the manager plan that "it gave too much power to one man."

Second, that it was an "experiment."

Third, that the method of selecting juries, as proposed in the charter, was a "lottery."

Fourth, that the county treasury would be transferred to private hands.

Fifth, that country districts would not be fairly represented.

The first two points were answered by pointing to the city manager method as operated in Sacramento.

In answer to the third, it was declared that even the "lottery" system would be preferable to the present "political method of hand-picked juries."

It was pointed out, in reply to the fourth point, that the city government for a number of years had successfully followed the plan of having a bank official act as treasurer at a nominal salary.

To the fifth, it was held that the proposed method of nominating members of the legislative body by districts and electing them at large was preferable to the present method of nominating and electing them by districts.

The chairman of the board of freeholders which drafted the proposed charter declared, on the day following the election: "The charter was defeated through the misrepresentations of people interested in keeping their jobs."

The newspaper which opposed the charter, commenting on the defeat declared: "The charter did not originate in any general popular demand; the voters are not yet ready to bestow greater powers upon an official whom they could not select than upon their elective officials; the defects that do exist in our county government can be remedied without revolutionizing the entire system." This probably represents the attitude of a great many people in the United States with respect to county government reform.

HOW THE CITY MANAGER PLAN WAS DEFEATED IN ATLANTA

BY ELEÓNORE ROAUL
of the Atlanta Bar

Political machinations united with irregularities at elections to defeat C. M. government in Atlanta. The majority, however, was only 1,000 out of 14,000 and manager advocates are not downhearted. The fight was led by the women. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

ABOUT fifteen years ago Atlanta voted upon and defeated the commission form of government two to one. Since that time there has been continual talk of charter revision with one or two spasmodic and abortive attempts. In the city elections of 1921 there was considerable talk of a new charter and the League of Women Voters sent a question relative to charter change to every candidate and received his written answer. Out of the eleven elected (one-third of council) nine answered the question favorably and this turned political thought somewhat in the direction of a new charter.

MAYOR'S COMMITTEE TO FORESTALL CITY MANAGER

At the first meeting of council in January 1922, Mr. Edgar Watkins, a newly elected councilman, introduced a city manager charter which he had worked upon for several months. The council for the purpose of defeating this charter instructed the mayor to appoint a committee of citizens and councilmen to report on a proper charter for Atlanta. The mayor was most astute in the appointment of the citizens on this committee, selecting some in whom everyone had confidence as sound thinking, non-political men and women, but in no case choosing anyone with any knowledge of city government or of much independence of thought or of action. The committee, in good faith and without realizing the full import of what it did, acted exactly as the mayor wished.

When the mayor's committee announced that it would report a charter embodying the federal form of government, the League of Women Voters came out for the Watkins' city manager charter. For a year the League had carried on an educational campaign on city government, espousing no one form, but perfecting an organization through which it hoped to be able to acquire a new charter though it did not expect to be plunged into a campaign at quite such an early date nor to take the leadership. When the League endorsed the city manager charter there was not one reason to believe it was fighting anything but a losing battle but it acted in the belief that permanently to better politics there must be some organization which would work for the very best interests of the community regardless of what would seem at the moment expedient or politic.

COUNCIL FORCED TO CALL ELECTION

It was evident through interviews with all of the councilmen that the council was unwilling to submit the city manager charter to a vote. But

finally under the pressure of petitions being circulated demanding an election, council voted to hold an election on May 16 and submit to a vote three charters, the present one amended; the federal form, reported by the mayor's committee; and the Watkins city manager charter. Public opinion soon forced council to provide also for a "run-off" election two weeks after the first in the event that no one charter received a majority of the total vote.

It soon became evident that the business men as a whole were going to vote for the federal charter because of the business men on the mayor's committee. Some were intimidated into expressing no opinion at all and prevented from giving help to manager campaign. There were, of course, a number of men (especially toward the end) who gave money and made speeches for the manager charter but no group could be gotten together to do active work or planning. The fact that the women were leading the fight and that business men espoused the other charter made it easy to ridicule the men who favored the manager plan. One ardent supporter was asked when he began to wear petticoats. On the other hand some were found who reasoned that the women were right because they had nothing to gain personally.

Two elections were necessary, since none of the three proposed charters received a majority at the first. In the first election the old charter ran first and the manager charter second. In the final election two weeks later the old charter won by one thousand votes out of a total of 14,000.

THE ELECTION VERY IRREGULAR

The election was to be conducted along regular city election lines. To such little attention is ever paid owing to the fact that city elections are generally only a ratification of the primary which is in the south the real election. There were many irregularities on election day, and the city attorney ruled that for most of them there was no redress. Clerks and managers marked the ballots for voters when so requested (in one instance the city manager representative found the clerk marking the ballot differently from that directed by voter and when called to account he corrected the "mistake"). There was absolutely no privacy for the voter. He had to mark his ballot at the polls with any number of people about him and this proved a most serious handicap. After the first election many of the polling places were changed but notice was not given until two days before election. The most flagrant case was in a large ward which was solidly for the manager plan and where the polls had been in one place for more than twenty years. Workers for the federal charter in the first election and for the old charter in the second had marked ballots outside the polls in the negro districts and got practically every negro vote. It was an interesting fact that the mayor was espousing the side in each case where the ballots were thus handed out. The night before election and on election day false rumors carrying great weight were circulated among the negroes. On the day before the second election a leaflet saying that the manager government would put them back into slavery was scattered broadcast. It should be stated, however, that many of the negroes of the more intelligent class did vote for the manager in the last election. The total negro vote was not large.

An important factor in the result was that the street railway was working for the old charter but positive proof of this fact did not come out until two days

before the final election. For this reason sufficient publicity could not be given to it to turn the tide as might have been possible if known sooner. All the employees of the railway apparently voted and voted against the manager plan.

Two other factors worked considerable against the new charter. The ballots were worded in a way most favorable to the old charter. And double voting was easy owing to the fact that every ward had two precincts and all voters were allowed to vote in either precinct they chose. This, however, is a usual custom. The managers are supposed to meet immediately after the election and check the lists but this was not done as far as could be discovered.

In spite of all this, however, there were many things about the campaign that were encouraging and there is no question but that the charter fight will be pursued and that next time victory will be achieved.

FUTURE STATESMEN

THE POLITICAL AMBITIONS OF COLLEGE STUDENTS

BY MARGARET BYRD

Do our college men and women, in securing their training for professional or business life, leave their preparation for the great tasks of intelligent citizenship in our democracy to mere chance?

I

Some light may be thrown on the subject by a test recently held in a class of sixty-four students who were sufficiently interested in politics to have elected a course offered at Swathmore College in "American Political Parties and Party Problems." The class consisted of thirty-four young women ranging in age from seventeen to twenty-three years, the average being nineteen years and six months, and thirty young men of from seventeen to twenty-five years of age, averaging twenty years and four months. Of these students only two were members of the freshman class, while the other classes were represented by approximately equal numbers, the number of men and women from each class being about equal also. The students were asked without warning for a written statement covering about ten minutes time and answering two questions, as follows:

(1) What political ambitions or activities have you in mind for your life after graduation?

(2) What advice have you received on this subject?

In twenty-nine cases the women's answers to the first question are definite on the matter of intelligent voting as the duty of a citizen, while in the other five instances the intention of performing this duty is implied. No doubt the newly won suffrage is responsible for this emphasis. The men's answers are less definite with regard to voting, mainly, however, because they take the use of the ballot for granted and hasten on to more exacting political duties. The two young women who are otherwise opposed to political activity on the part of members of their sex, nevertheless mention their purpose to vote intelligently. The only young man who seems to have any doubts as to his future with respect to this primary

political function—and they are introduced by his belief that the profession of medicine will occupy his full time—says, "I feel it to be the duty of every man, *if he can possibly find the time*, to vote intelligently every time the opportunity offers." Party membership, usually active, was mentioned by thirteen women and twelve men, and acceptance of jury duty by two women and one man. Beyond this the answers presented, in general, vague or indefinite goals. Perhaps their range can best be shown by a table:

Ambitions Expressed	*Women*	*Men*
Reform club activity	8	3
Specifically to "bust bossism"	0	3
Election officials, work as	1	0
Local office—indefinite	3	3
Borough or city council	1	2
School board	11	1
Public health board or office	1	0
Mayor	1	2
Civil service	7	3
Military service (National Guard)	0	1
Consular or diplomatic service	2	5
District attorney	0	1
State legislature	0	3
House of Representatives	1	5
Senate	0	1

II

The general attitude toward these ambitions on the part of the women is much less concrete that that of the men, and the range of offices is restricted in general to those requiring only part-time service (*e. g.* reform club and school board activities)—which would not interfere with home duties. Some men and fewer women have determined upon their vocations. In most of such instances a direct correlation between this vocation and the political ambition, or lack of it, is apparent. Thus, a future doctor plans to enter the public health service. The only young man who expects to teach states "school board or superintendent" as his ambition, while the professional bias of several young women is so represented. One future lawyer hopes to become district attorney, while another has chosen the profession of law because he feels that through this medium he may realize his aim—entrance into politics. Another young man, a senior, reflects the attitude of the men who are looking out for "next year's job" by having applied for examinations for entrance into the consular service. He is the only member of the senior class here represented who has planned for a definite, full-time, political position.

Practical motives have a great deal to do with the relative dearth of political plans. In one instance particularly is this noticeable, that of a sophomore man, a major in the department of political science, who says that "Earlier intentions toward a political career have been dampened by financial considerations, and the belief that the temptation to supplement an otherwise too small income by questionable methods outweighs the advantages and interest attached to such a career." The same young man is much interested in the consular service, but will probably reject it also, because of the inadequate financial return.

The motive of reform occurs widely and occasions much of the desire for political activity. Three men pledge themselves to political efforts to "clean out bossism" in their home towns. One of these young men, whose dominant interest is in law, would emerge from private life, fight for the office of mayor, and hold that office, if possible, until reform was well under way before returning to his practice.

The words of another young Lincoln from the same town are worth quoting:

> My political ambitions are limited. They are limited, and yet they are very great. I want to help get the dirty gang which is in control of D—— County and the City of C—— by the throat and not stop squeezing until the last

spark of life is extinct in them. I don't mean merely the so-called "system," I mean the entire Republican organization in D—— County.

A young woman in the class finds the motive of reform strong enough to take her back to the town in which she formerly lived to "make a clean-up." Others are interested but have plans less clear. Reform causes many an otherwise relatively uninterested student to consider politics as an avocation. Youthful idealism? Yes, but it is one of the most hopeful signs brought out by the whole analysis.

If we may, for lack of more comprehensive data, take this class as typical of any four consecutive classes, it may be assumed that interest in citizenship problems, to some extent at least, is responsible for the attendance upon this course of approximately half the students who pass through the college in four years. Of these we find that practically all accept the obligations of the citizen to vote—though here we must make some discount for those who answer with "voting" because no political ambition has occurred to them before, and the ballot is the most readily thought of on the spur of the moment. We find the large majority of those whose ambitions are for more definite political service wish to combine political activity as an avocation with some other business or profession. Only the very few—fewer than those electing medicine, teaching, engineering, or almost any other profession—are preparing for statesmanship as a life work. Of the future statesmen, one man plans to enter the consular service, one orients his studies to his desired political career, and one, *if* he continues with the profession of law, sets a district attorneyship as his goal. The others become less and less clear-cut.

Why is this? Is it because of the uncertain, popular-choice element in the politician's career? Is it modesty, apathy, or absolute dislike of political life and unwillingness to struggle against corruption? Perhaps the character of the advice or influence referred to by the thirty-two women and twenty-nine men who answered the second question will shed some light on the underlying causes of the indefiniteness of political ambitions.

III

Nine women and four men say that they have received no advice whatever. In all but eleven instances among the women, the advice was very indefinite, or was merely in the form of influential example. Of the eleven, only four had received what might be called positive advice. The others were told, in general, "Politics is a dirty game. Keep out of it." Much of the indirect influence was of the same character. In the thirteen cases of definite advice to the young men, five answers and half of the sixth and seventh stated that negative advice was received. In all but one of the instances the reason given was "corruption."

The advice or influence by example which has been effective in filing or restraining the ambitions of twenty-three women and twenty-six men, had for its sources the families of fourteen women and eight men, and the friends of several others. Future professional associates account for the advice or influence effective with one woman and five men, while school teachers and college professors figure in the answers of but two women and five men. Among the men there are four cases in which a politician or a bit of political activity has made a definite impression. Only two women have been affected by such influences.

Figures are but an insignificant index to the character of the advice received. A few of the more interesting examples give a better indication. One young

woman, for instance, sees in the local school board an excellent opportunity for service—"though the one woman on our school board is a holy terror and has all the men under her thumb." Her father is more interested in politics than the average parent, but of her older brother's attitude she says, "When a woman ran for assembly this year, and distributed cards with her picture on them, he informed me of what I would get from him if I ever did anything like that."

The young woman who hopes to exercise political influence through journalism, has been told that it would be "rather impossible" for a person of her type to have much influence, because those who do not understand are easily swayed, and "newspapers and politics are so crooked that only a pretzel or a corkscrew mind could adapt itself to them." Her advisers would be strengthened in their position if they could cite as proof of the latter point the gem picked up by a young man of the class from a gang politician in a campaign last fall. He gives it as typical of the advice he has received,—"It's not a crime to be corrupt; it's a crime to be found out."

The father of one young man, himself engaged in politics, advises his son to keep out, while the example of another father in holding school board and other "minor offices," is the genesis of the ambitions of his son to hold similar positions, and of his vague dreams culminating in a senatorship.

One man had visited his state legislature in company with schoolmates in behalf of a high school fraternity whose life they wished to save. He had the floor at a committee hearing for a few minutes and was afterwards urged by a member of the House to "stick to it (political life). It keeps you younger than anything else." From observation he was inclined to agree. Another young man received similar advice from an ex-congressman. Of a somewhat different character is the statement of a young woman who says that, in conversation with a district attorney, she had presented to her a picture of the politician's life as "interesting, but not entirely honest."

The kindly old gentleman who says to the son of his host as he takes his departure, "And this young man may someday be president of the United States—I shouldn't be a bit surprised!" —This gentleman does not appear, either in the guise of an adviser, nor in the ambition of a single student to become a resident of the White House. Perhaps his genial figure is disappearing from American life, and these students may never have heard the suggestion of presidential possibilities seriously or jokingly referred to in connection with their careers. No doubt there is a large element of natural modesty which prevents students from dreaming of the presidency, or at least from confessing to such dreams.

In a survey of sixty-four hastily written papers, only the dominant in the minds of the writers, or the "inspirations" of the moment will stand out. It is noteworthy, then, that while only political ambitions are asked for, the definiteness in the mention of other professions contrasts strongly with the vagueness of the stirrings of political ambition. Yet that these stirrings are present, even in nebulous form, is a hopeful sign.

INCREASING ACTIVITIES AND INCREASING COSTS

BY LENT D. UPSON
Director, Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc.

Municipal expenses are increasing faster than population. But consider the expansions of municipal functions and improved administration of old activities. :: :: ::

TAXATION and prohibition threaten to monopolize dinner table talk. There are ample reasons for interest in the former, since its effects are impressive and means of escape are yet to be suggested. For example, Prof. David Friday has pointed out that in Michigan, the national government took $7,000,000 in internal revenues in 1911 and $272,000,000 in 1921; and that city taxation during this period increased from $12,000,000 to $49,000,000. During this same period Detroit's tax budget increased from $7,000,000 to $40,000,000 and the net debt from $8,000,000 to more than $100,000,000. In the decade from 1900 to 1910 while the city's population a little less than doubled, tax collections doubled, as did the debt. In the decade following, population doubled again, taxes were multiplied by five, and the debt by ten or fifteen.

The average taxpayer charges the increased cost of local government during these years to the unprecedented undertaking of new activities, —to frills and fads,—"the constant and increasing pressure upon government to undertake more and more and to leave less and less to private initiative and responsibility," to quote a recent editorial of the *New York Times*.

This pressure on government to increase expenses faster than population perhaps has its origin in the fact that this generation has seen the common use of steel for construction purposes; the adaptation of electricity to lighting, manufacturing, and transportation; and the development of the automobile, and particularly the heavy truck.

To be sure, there were big cities before these inventions, but not complex and expensive cities. Sky-scrapers, loft manufacturing, and rapid transit have required high pressure fire protection, traffic control, safety engineering, and more police. The automobile, and particularly the truck, have brought more traffic control, street widening, and heavier pavements, plus new efforts by the health and police authorities to check the spread of disease and crime that this form of rapid transportation facilitates. Also when the mechanic rides in his own jitney and enjoys necessities that were luxuries a generation ago, he is not adverse to the city building parks and boulevards, lighting streets, and providing free education equal to the best that can be obtained privately. With these higher standards of living has come apparently a finer concept of social justice as seen in supervised playgrounds, free clinics, regulated commercial recreation, better prisons, more adequate disease control, and unemployment relief.

How far is this recent progress responsible for the extension of city activities and expense? For at least a

partial answer the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research has examined the one hundred and eighty four principal activities now conducted by the city government. The City of Detroit, electing its first mayor one hundred years ago, and with only a few thousand inhabitants, then limited its activities to those common to local government since the beginning of history. They consisted of a legislative and an administrative authority; a system of assessing, collecting, and disbursing taxes; means of apprehending, judging, and correcting offenders against the public peace; maintaining highways; rudimentary protection against fire; and the providing of elementary education, —eleven activities in all. For half a century the increase in city activities was gradual, and by 1876 had reached only thirty-six in number and this expansion had to do with the diversification of long accepted activities. Public works grew from street grading to the construction and maintenance of paving and sewers. Constables were supplanted by paid police, including inspectors of weights and measures, sanitation officers, harbor patrol, and detectives. A volunteer fire department became a paid institution. The elementary school system was expanded to include evening and high schools. Following the Civil War a free library and a park system were established.

By 1900, 102 activities were being undertaken, and ten years later, by 1910, only 114 activities. But since 1910, seventy activities have been added,—two-thirds of the number taken on in the entire ninety years preceding. During these twelve years the cost of government has multiplied more than five times, as has been mentioned. These newly established activities are now important city services, and include nutrition of school children, prison farm, psychopathic clinic, tuberculosis camp, maternity hospital, medical college, women police, extension of probation, continuation school, city planning, community centers, junior college, grade separation, vice control, school gardens, hospitals, education of the blind and anemic, and civil service, —to mention a few.

It would be only natural to charge a large part of the increased cost of government to these important innovations. Particularly in the field of education, the taxpayer inveighs against educational "frills" and high taxes. In truth, these new activities are not as costly as the expansion and "doing better" of old ones. For example, in 1922, ordinary elementary and high school education (with operation of buildings, etc.) cost 82 per cent of a school budget of $15,000,000. This leaves less than 20 per cent of the budget for new educational activities,—the "frills"—kindergarten, evening and summer schools, junior college, special schools, etc.

For the entire city government, while the tax budget has increased from $7,000,000 to $40,000,000, seventy new activities are accountable for, roughly, only $5,000,000 of the increase. Debt service alone has increased from $500,000 to over $9,000,000, and the expansion of old activities has been from $6,500,000 to $25,000,000.

This situation raises the question as to how far new activities can be added and old ones expanded in the next ten years,—since larger cities are approaching the limits of real estate taxation. Apparently much economy cannot come through the elimination of "frills," and citizens will be reluctant to curtail old and established functions. However, "efficiency" is still applicable,—not the efficiency that concerns itself only with improving the mechanics of operations, but an efficiency that will dare challenge these

operations and evaluate their worthwhileness. For example, lower police costs cannot come thru improving foot patrol methods, but by daring to question the efficacy of this whole activity.

Further, there are still opportunities for new sources of revenue,—not picayune increases in fees and licenses, but a direct striking out into incomes and unearned increments.

THE GROWTH OF CITY ACTIVITIES IN DETROIT

1824	Elections
	Legislative
	Executive
	Legal Advice
	Taxation
	Treasurer
	Police
	Municipal Court
	Fire Department
	Elementary School
	Street Grading
1825	
1826	
1827	
1828	
1829	
1830	
1831	
1832	
1833	Poor Relief
1834	
1835	Street Paving
1836	Sewers
	Sewer Cleaning
	Water Supply
1837	
1838	
1839	
1840	
1841	
1842	School Census
1843	
1844	
1845	
1846	
1847	
1848	
1849	
1850	Controller
	Street Lighting
1851	
1852	
1853	
1854	
1855	
1856	
1857	
1858	High School
1859	
1860	
1861	Prison
1862	
1863	
1864	Public Library
1865	Licenses
	Weights Inspection
1866	
1867	Sanitary Police
1868	Detectives
1869	
1870	Pounds
	Police Signals
1871	Parks
	Public Buildings
1872	Harbor Police
1873	Permit Inspection
1874	Engineering
1875	Evening Elementary School
1876	
1877	
1878	Public Scales
1879	
1880	
1881	Health Superintendence
	Vital Statistics
	Teachers' College
	Periodical Library
1882	Truancy Police
	Criminal Identification
1883	Outdoor Relief
	Hospital of Sick
	Education of Incorrigibles
1884	
1885	Building Inspection
	Fire Alarm Telephone
	Fire Pension
1886	
1887	Milk Inspection
	Food Inspection
	Fire Medical Service
	Library Reading Room
1888	Garbage Collection
	Rubbish Collection
1889	Water Meters
	Meter Repairs
1890	
1891	Zoo
	Ice Service
	Free Medical Service
1892	Free School Books
	Gas meter inspection
	Fire Boats

1893	Art Museum
	Plumbers' Examination
	Mounted Police
	Reference Library
1894	Bathing Beach
	Plumbing Inspection
1895	City Attorney
	Hand Street Cleaning
	Chemical Laboratory
	Bacteriological Laboratory
	Kindergarten
1896	Electrical Inspection
	Blind Library
1897	Snow Removal
1898	Band Concerts
1899	Nursing
	Green House
	Education of Deaf
	Branch Libraries
1900	Alley Cleaning
1901	
1902	School Children Inspection
	Smoke Inspection
1903	Sidewalk Permits
	Housing Inspection
1904	Meat Inspection
	Aquarium
	Conservatory
	Police Medical Service
1905	Police Pensions
	Sewage Pumping
	Street Flushing
	Tuberculosis Clinic
	Evening High School
1906	Venereal Clinic
	Comfort Stations
1907	Forestry
	Technical High Schools
1908	Motor Police
	Tuberculosis Hospital
	Baths
1909	Traffic Police
	Free Evening Lectures
	Moving Picture Censor
	New Building Inspection
	Sign Inspection
	Wire Inspection
1910	Child Clinic
	Contagious Hospital
	Education of Cripples
	Education of Stammerers
	School Transportation
	Boiler Inspection
1911	Police Training School
	Motor Bus
	Elevator Inspection
	High Pressure Water
1912	Civil Service
	Property Identification
	Continuation School
	Education of Anemic
	Education of Blind
	Summer Elementary School
	Summer High School
	Summer Technical School
	Evening Technical School
1913	Detention Home
	Refectories
	Boating
	Boulevard Lighting
1914	Police Record Bureau
	Educational Research
1915	Serology Laboratory
	Serology Inspection
	Ferries
	Charity Registration
	Ambulance
	Social Service
	Hospital
	Play Grounds
	School Gardens
	Festivals
	Oil Inspection
1916	Auto Recovery
	Vice Squad
	Park Sewage Treatment
	Refrigeration Inspection
1917	Street Opening Bureau
	Grade Separation Bureau
	Junior College
	School Purchases
	Recreation Camps
1918	Summer Teachers' College
	Evening Teachers' College
	Parent Schools
	Community Centers
	Fire Prevention
1919	Purchasing Agent
	City Planning
	House Numbering Bureau
	Complaint Bureau
	Auto Repair
	Motor Sweeping
	Continuation School Ex.
	Education Cost Accounting
	Testing Laboratory
	Safety Bureau
1920	Street Railway
	Probation Extension
	Central Garage
	Women Police
	Medical College
	Maternity Hospital
	Tuberculosis Camp
	Summer Junior College
	Evening Junior College
1921	School Architecture
	Psychopathic Clinic
	Research Engineer
	Prison Farm
	Auto Dispatch
	Nutrition
	City Census

JOHN STUART MILL AND THE MODEL CITY CHARTER

BY WILLIAM ANDERSON
University of Minnesota

Mill, writing more than a generation before our Committee on a Municipal Program reported the Model Charter, advanced the same principles which we now advocate. :: :: :: :: ::

"PLAGIARISM" is defined as the act of appropriating the literary or scientific work of another and giving it out as one's own. When two writers express the same views in very much the same form, but independently, there is not a case of plagiarism but rather of coincidence which may or may not indicate the soundness of the premises and of the reasoning of both. The close correspondence which exists between the principles of the *Model Charter* of the National Municipal League, and the plan of organization for local governments outlined by Mill in his work on representative government, is of a different type. Mill's views were probably not original with him. His writing on this subject stands out particularly for two reasons: *first*, because he selected and made his own a group of principles characterized by an unusual amount of common sense; and *second*, because he stated these principles in unusually good style and small compass. His *Considerations on Representative Government* were first published in 1861. The *Model Charter* in its present form was published in 1916. By the latter year the principles expressed fifty-five years earlier by Mill had become so fully accepted by students of political science that no one thought to trace them back to him. They were common stock. This is in no way a disparagement of the work of those who gathered these principles together and put them into the form of a *Model Charter*. They deserve high praise for their constructive work. It is only because the similarities are so striking that it is deemed worth the space to call attention to them here. So far as possible, the similarities will be shown by direct quotations.

LOCAL SELF-GOVERNMENT OR MUNICIPAL HOME RULE

Mill. "It is but a small portion of the public business of a country which can be well done, or safely attempted, by the central authorities; and even in our own government, the least centralised in Europe, the legislative portion at least of the governing body busies itself far too much with local affairs, employing the supreme power of the State in cutting small knots which there ought to be other and better means of untying. . . . It is obvious, to begin with, that all business purely local—all which concerns only a single locality—should devolve upon the local authorities." pp. 346, 354.[1]

Model Charter. "Any city may frame and adopt a charter for its own government in the following manner.

[1] The page references to Mill's *Representative Government* are to *Everyman's* edition of Mill's *Utilitarianism, Liberty, and Representative Government.* The quotations are drawn from chapters 5, 7, and 15.

. . . Each city shall have and is hereby granted the authority to exercise all powers relating to municipal affairs; . . . " Secs. 3, 5, of the constitutional provisions for municipal home rule.

Mill did not go as far as the *Model Charter;* municipal home rule in the American sense is a device which originated nearly fifteen years after his work quoted above. All that we can say here is that he had the essential idea of local self-government.

STATE BUREAUS FOR THE SUPERVISION OF MUNICIPAL ACTIVITIES

Mill. "Power may be localised, but knowledge, to be most useful, must be centralised; there must be somewhere a focus at which all its scattered rays are collected, that the broken and coloured lights which exist elsewhere may find there what is necessary to complete and purify them. To every branch of local administration which affects the general interest there should be a corresponding central organ, either a minister, or some specially appointed functionary under him; even if that functionary does no more than collect information from all quarters, and bring the experience acquired in one locality to the knowledge of another where it is wanted. But there is also something more than this for the central authority to do. It ought to keep open a perpetual communication with the localities: informing itself by their experience, and them by its own; giving advice freely when asked, volunteering it when seen to be required; compelling publicity and recordation of proceedings, and enforcing obedience to every general law which the legislature has laid down on the subject of local management." pp. 357–358.

Model Charter. "*Reports.* General laws may be passed requiring reports from cities as to their transactions and financial condition, and providing for the examination by state officials, of the vouchers, books and accounts of all municipal authorities, or of public undertakings conducted by such authorities." Sec. 6 of the constitutional provisions for municipal home rule.

UNIFICATION OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Mill. "In each local circumscription there should be but one elected body for all local business, not different bodies for different parts of it. Division of labour does not mean cutting up every business into minute fractions; it means the union of such operations as are fit to be performed by the same persons, and the separation of such as can be better performed by different persons. The executive duties of the locality do indeed require to be divided into departments, for the same reason as those of the State; because they are of diverse kinds, each requiring knowledge peculiar to itself, and needing, for its due performance, the undivided attention of a specially qualified functionary. But the reasons for subdivision which apply to the execution do not apply to the control. The business of the elective body is not to do the work, but to see that it is properly done, and that nothing necessary is left undone. This function can be fulfilled for all departments by the same superintending body; and by a collective and comprehensive far better than by a minute and microscopic view. It is as absurd in public affairs as it would be in private that every workman should be looked after by a superintendent to himself." p. 351.

Model Charter. "There is hereby created a council which shall have full power and authority, except as herein

otherwise provided, to exercise all the powers conferred upon the city." Sec. 1.

While Mill does not specifically refer to the subject, his general statements are broad enough to warrant the conclusion that he would not only have favored the abolition of all elective boards and officers other than the council, leaving the council the sole arbiter in municipal affairs, but also the consolidation of city and county governments under the same council. See sec. 8 of the constitutional provisions for municipal home rule printed with the *Model Charter*.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION IN THE COUNCIL

Mill. "In a really equal democracy, every or any section would be represented, not disproportionately, but proportionately. A majority of the electors would always have a majority of the representatives; but a minority of the electors would always have a minority of the representatives. . . . This degree of perfection in representation appeared impracticable until a man of great capacity, fitted alike for large general views and for the contrivance of practical details—Mr. Thomas Hare—had proved its possibility by drawing up a scheme for its accomplishment, embodied in a Draft of an Act of Parliament; . . . The more these works [of Mr. Hare] are studied the stronger, I venture to predict, will be the impression of the perfect feasibility of the scheme, and its transcendent advantages. Such and so numerous are these, that, in my conviction, they place Mr. Hare's plan among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government. . . . " pp. 257, 261, 263.

"The proper constitution of local representative bodies does not present much difficulty. The principles which apply to it do not differ in any respect from those applicable to the national representation. The same obligation exists, as in the case of the more important function, for making the bodies elective; and the same reasons operate as in that case, but with still greater force, for giving them a widely democratic basis: the dangers being less, and the advantages, in point of popular education and cultivation, in some respects even greater. . . . The representation of minorities should be provided for in the same manner as in the national Parliament, . . . " pp. 348, 349.

Model Charter. The Hare system of proportional representation by the single transferable vote is provided for in the *Model Charter* in secs. 7 to 14, inclusive.

Very few people even to this day can improve upon Mill's argument of the case for proportional representation. See particularly ch. 7 of *Representative Government*.

SEPARATION OF POLITICS FROM ADMINISTRATION

Mill. "There is a radical distinction between controlling the business of government and actually doing it. The same person or body may be able to control everything, but cannot possibly do everything; and in many cases its control over everything will be more perfect the less it personally attempts to do. . . . The proper duty of a representative assembly in regard to matters of administration is not to decide them by its own vote, but to take care that the persons who have to decide them shall be the proper persons. Even this they cannot advantageously do by nominating the individuals. . . . Numerous bodies never regard

special qualifications at all. Unless a man is fit for the gallows, he is thought to be about as fit as other people for almost anything for which he can offer himself as a candidate. When appointments made by a public body are not decided, as they almost always are, by party connection or private jobbing, a man is appointed either because he has a reputation, often quite undeserved, for *general* ability, or frequently for no better reason than that he is personally popular." pp. 229–230, 233, 234. These quotations are from ch. 5, "Of the proper functions of representative bodies." In ch. 15, also, "Of local representative bodies," Mill stresses the point that the council should keep its hands off the administration, leaving all executive and administrative work to those who are trained and selected for that purpose.

Model Charter. "Neither the council nor any of its committees or members shall dictate the appointment of any person to office or employment by the city manager, or in any manner interfere with the city manager or prevent him from exercising his own judgment in the appointment of officers and employees in the administrative service." Sec. 3. The *Model Charter* goes on to specify more in detail the lines which should separate the administration of affairs from the determination of policies. See further quotations from both Mill and the *Model Charter*, below.

GOOD ADMINISTRATION REQUIRES THE APPOINTMENT OF EXPERTS

Mill. "Every branch of public administration is a skilled business, which has its own peculiar principles and traditional rules, many of them not even known, in any effectual way, except to those who have at some time had a hand in carrying on the business, and none of them likely to be duly appreciated by persons not practically acquainted with the department." p. 231.

"The executive duties of the locality . . . are of diverse kinds, each requiring knowledge peculiar to itself, and needing, for its due performance, the undivided attention of a specially qualified functionary." p. 351.

"The principles applicable to all public trusts are in substance the same. In the first place, each executive officer should be single, and singly responsible for the whole of the duty committed to his charge. In the next place, he should be nominated, not elected. It is ridiculous that a surveyor, or a health officer, or even a collector of rates, should be appointed by popular suffrage. The popular choice usually depends on interest with a few local leaders, who, as they are not supposed to make the appointment, are not responsible for it; or on an appeal to sympathy, founded on having twelve children, and having been a rate-payer in the parish for thirty years. If in cases of this description election by the population is a farce, appointment by the local representative body is little less objectionable. Such bodies have a perpetual tendency to become joint-stock associations for carrying into effect the private jobs of their various members." p. 353–354.

Model Charter. The *Model Charter* leaves no executive or administrative officials to be chosen by popular election. The council is to select only the city manager and the civil service board. All other department heads are chosen by the city manager, as indicated below. "At the head of each department there shall be a director. Each director shall be chosen on the basis of his general executive and administrative experience and ability and of his education, training, and

experience in the class of work which he is to administer. The director of the department of law shall be a lawyer"; etc. Minor positions are filled mainly by competitive examination. Secs. 38, 41–48.

Mill recognized even in his day the necessity of expert administration, yet was powerfully influenced by the traditional English reverence for the "general ability" of which he seemed to make light. Following the words quoted above from p. 231, he went on to say: "I do not mean that the transaction of public business has esoteric mysteries, only to be understood by the initiated. Its principles are all intelligible to any person of good sense, who has in his mind a true picture of the circumstances and conditions to be dealt with; but to have this he must know those circumstances and conditions; and the knowledge does not come by intuition." Except in emphasis, this is not very much unlike a certain oft-quoted sentiment attributed to Andrew Jackson.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE RESPONSIBILITY SHOULD CENTER IN ONE PERSON

Mill. "What can be done better by a body than by any individual is deliberation. When it is necessary or important to secure hearing and consideration to many conflicting opinions, a deliberative body is indispensable. Those bodies, therefore, are frequently useful, even for administrative business, but in general only as advisers; such business being, as a rule, better conducted under the responsibility of one. Even a joint-stock company has always in practice, if not in theory, a managing director; its good or bad management depends essentially on some one person's qualifications, and the remaining directors, when of any use, are so by their suggestions to him, or by the power they possess of watching him, and restraining or removing him in case of misconduct. That they are ostensibly equal sharers with him in the management is no advantage, but a considerable set-off against any good which they are capable of doing: it weakens greatly the sense in his own mind, and in those of other people, of that individual responsibility in which he should stand forth personally and undividedly." p. 231.

"Appointments should be made [not by the council, but] on the individual responsibility of the chairman of the body, let him be called mayor, chairman of quarter sessions, or by whatever other title. He occupies in the locality a position analogous to that of the prime minister in the state, and under a well-organized system the appointment and watching of the local officers would be the most important part of his duty; he himself being appointed by the council from its own number, subject either to annual reelection, or to removal by a vote of the body." p. 354.

Model Charter. "The city manager shall be the chief executive officer of the city. He shall be chosen by the council solely on the basis of his executive and administrative qualifications. The choice shall not be limited to inhabitants of the city or state. . . . He shall be appointed for an indefinite period. He shall be removable by the council. . . . The city manager shall be responsible to the council for the proper administration of all affairs of the city, and to that end shall make all appointments, except as otherwise provided in this charter. Except when the council is considering his removal, he shall be entitled to be present at all meetings of the council and of its committees and to take part in their discussion. . . . Each director shall be appointed by the city manager and

may be removed by him at any time; . . . " Secs. 34, 35, 38.

There is here one striking difference between Mill's views and the provisions of the *Model Charter*. Mill thought traditionally. He conceived of his city manager as a local resident, a member of the council or board of directors, chosen by the body from among its own members, like the English mayor or the president-manager of a corporation. Perhaps under English conditions in his own day, this plan would have worked well. Those who drew up the *Model Charter* thought in terms of a manager who would make city administration his profession and who would be called from city to city as his fame grew with his success. The selection of the manager from among the members of the council, although not forbidden, was conceived of as generally undesirable under American conditions. This difference is highly important but hardly vital.

There are other differences, too, between Mill's plan and the *Model Charter*. Mill omits the initiative, referendum, and recall, of course; and he is imbued with the idea of the necessity of property tests for electors. These discrepancies are not fatal. All things considered, Mill is distinctly a modern. His 5th and 15th chapters in the *Considerations on Representative Government* form even today an excellent statement of some of the salient problems of the organization of local governments.

GAINS AGAINST THE NUISANCES

II. NOISE AND PUBLIC HEALTH[1]

BY WILLIS O. NANCE, M.D.
Trustee, Sanitary District of Chicago

The second article in our series of Gains Against the Nuisances. Most noise is preventable. City noises shorten our lives, besides making them less worth living. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

CITY noises, like the proverbial poor, we must always expect to have with us. Noise in any community may be and usually is a distinct sign of progress and frequently of prosperity. No large number of people can live together and transact business without making some noise. It is true that no large city of importance can be made noiseless. However, everybody knows that much of the noise of metropolitan life is absolutely unnecessary. It must be remembered that complaints against city noises are not by any means a fad of the idle rich. For if one goes into the industrial communities he will find that there is as much complaint among the residents there as there is along the "Gold Coast."

The American city is proverbially a noisy city. The average American believes in doing things and doing them quickly and effectively and does not always comport himself in accomplishing these things with the traditional ladylike *finesse*.

Several years ago the writer spent considerable time abroad, residing in one city, Berlin, nearly a year. The nature of his work required that he live near the center of the city's business activities. The difference in the amount

[1] Read at the meeting of the American Civic Association, Chicago, Nov. 15, 1921.

of noise prevalent in the business districts in some of our American cities and the German metropolis made a deep impression upon his mind. He could not help but believe that we of the western world were making too much noise and he believes so today. Moreover, he does not believe that he is looking at the noise problem through glasses of impracticability nor the eyes of a neurasthenic nor a fanatic. He is quite sure that he has never been seriously afflicted with neurasthenia and in the urban section of the city in which he resides, notwithstanding the early visit of the milkman, the delightful matutinal greeting of the neighbors' prize leghorns and the early clanging of the ecclesiastic chimes, he usually secures without much difficulty the requisite seven or eight hours seance with the god of rest and sleep.

I

As a medical man, perhaps the subject of unnecessary noises has been brought more prominently to the writer's attention than to that of the average citizen. There can be no question of doubt that noise is a decided causative factor in many nervous diseases. There is little doubt that many nervous wrecks are created every year by the incessant din and clamor to which many of us are continually subjected.

The sensitive nervous system of the city dweller is especially prone to the assaults and onslaughts of the violence of confusion, in another word, noise, and suffers a serious drain as a consequence.

Several well known literary men have recorded their views on the noise question. A well known example is that of Carlyle, who pays his respects to noise in general and the steam whistle in particular, by saying:

> That which the world torments me in most is the awful confusion of noise. It is the devil's own infernal din all the blessed day long, confounding God's works and his creatures. A truly awful hell-like combination, and the worst of it all is the railway whistle, like the screech of ten thousand cats, and every cat of them as big as a cathedral.

A writer in a current issue of *The Nation's Health* thus pays his respects to the automobile cut-out muffler and other barbarous city noises:

> The muffler which can't be cut out has come to stay and while, of course, nothing short of extermination will silence the cracked soprano, the raucous junk collector and the cheerful idiot who plays one finger piano solos, may blessings be upon the head of the health officer who will recognize and treat unnecessary and avoidable noises as a nuisance and a menace to the public health. And this is logical, for surely an offense to the ear is quite as bad as an offense to the eye or the nostril. Perhaps it may be even more harmful and surely the commission of the one should be as punishable as the other. The blessed contentment of the quiet of the open fields is not imaginary; it is a sigh of relief from nerves too taut with the stentorian voice of the city, and while the beatific silence may be occasionally broken by the tinny cacophony of the senile vehicle from Detroit, the tortured soul is soon assuaged by nature's silence.

Hollis Godfrey in the *Atlantic Monthly* mentions an article which he translated from *Le Figaro*, as follows:

> Noise has a daughter whose revisions extend in all directions: Neurasthenia. I have seen in a little village a strong peasant girl lying on her poor couch and suffering from a sickness from which her forces were slowly ebbing. The doctors all agreed in declaring that she has neurasthenia. She was absolutely illiterate. Knew neither how to read or how to write. It was not books nor meditation nor sensibility of soul which had brought her to that diseased state. No; leaving her country home she had worked in a great city whose noise had constantly alarmed her. At last she returned to the fields: she came back too late.

We may perhaps also well quote the protest of a writer in the *Boston Globe:*

> *Gentlemen:*
>
> Why is it that your switch engine has to ding and dong and fizz and spit and clang and bang and hiss and bell and wail and pant and rant and howl and yowl and grate and grind and puff and bump and click and clank and chug and moan

and hoot and toot and crash and grunt and gasp and groan and whistle and wheeze and squawk and blow and jar and jerk and rasp and jingle and twang and clack and rumble and jangle and ring and clatter and yelp and howl and hum and snarl and puff and growl and thump and boom and clash and jolt and jostle and shake and screech and snort and snarl and slam and throb and crink and quiver and rumble and roar and rattle and yell and smoke and smell and shriek like hell all night long?

Everyone knows that rest and quiet are nature's best medicines, and that in case of severe illness the physician orders these remedies. Every large community has a certain proportion of inhabitants who are not up to physical par. In Chicago, for instance, it is safe to say that there are approximately 60,000 sick people every day, many of whom are suffering from some nervous trouble, who require and should receive all the consideration it is in our power to give them. They are entitled to protection from the awful din; the municipality owes it to them; society should give it to them.

As an etiologic factor in certain varieties of deafness noise is recognized by otologists generally. That the auditory nerve and the delicate mechanism of the ear, of which there is none more intricate and sensitive in the human body, eventually resists the violent onslaught of numerous and unnecessary noises and permanently loses more or less of its acuteness is admitted by all who have given the matter any amount of study. The generally recognized application of this principle is plainly shown in the case of boilermakers who spend many hours a day in a more or less constant din, practically all of whom are deaf. One may protect one's eyes by closing them; one does not necessarily have to use the sense of smell; the sense of taste is entirely one's own desire, but there is no way of avoiding sound when one is in its sphere.

II

Noise is a cause of lowered industrial and economic efficiency. Past Assistant Surgeon J. A. Watkins of the United States Public Health Service, in a technical survey of health conservation at steel mills, published in 1916, says:

> Much of the noise in any industrial plant is, of course, a compulsory hazard, and its elimination in many plants is wholly impossible. It could, however, be made to affect a relatively small number of men only, and no doubt many noises could be eliminated.
>
> Although many workers affirm that they become thoroughly accustomed to many of these sounds, the effect of the noise on the nervous system persists, unless, by continuous exposure, dullness of hearing or deafness is produced. The influence of continuous and unnatural noise in causing fatigue is well known. The installation of silent signals for other than danger signals would have advantages over the blowing of whistles; for should the whistles not be heard or properly understood at the time they are blown some serious mishap may arise, whereas silent signals are continuous.
>
> In one shop in the Pittsburgh district an endeavor is being made to do away with unnecessary noise. The difference between it and others is astonishing. The men do work in an orderly, rapid manner; there is no confusion, no noise. If danger signals are sounded, they can be distinctly heard. After one has been in a noisy shop for some time a stay in this shop is actually restful. Light signals have been used where the duties of the workers were in sequence and have proved a great success.

Everyone knows that it is impossible to attain any high degree of efficiency in any line of endeavor or work that requires any exercise of the mind in the midst of a constant din. I believe I am safe in estimating that human efficiency is reduced at least twenty-five per cent in noisy business localities by a more or less clatter or clamor. It may be said that there is such a thing as getting accustomed to certain varieties and degrees of noise to such an extent that little harm results either to one's health or working efficiency. This may be possible for a varying

period of time, but it must be admitted that the cumulative, if not the present effect, of such violence is bound to manifest itself disastrously. We all know that our best brain work is done in an atmosphere of quiet.

Property values in every large city are markedly depreciated as the result of the noise evil. Few people enjoy living contiguous to a railroad right of way and being obliged to listen to a more or less constant ringing of bells, blowing of whistles, etc., morning, noon and night, week days and Sundays. Of course, nobody who locates near a railroad hopes for the beatific tranquility incident to the surroundings of a public burial-ground, but he expects, or at least has a right to expect, that the operation of the system of business will be conducted in a manner as considerate as possible for the welfare of the public.

III

Several years ago the city council of Chicago took up the matter of the suppression of useless noises seriously and appointed a sub-committee of the council public health committee to consider thoroughly the question and to report back to the council such recommendations as might seem necessary to bring about a better control of such noises as were considered detrimental to the health and comfort of the people. The writer had the honor of being chairman of this sub-committee. A number of public hearings were held which the public generally were invited to attend and make any complaints they deemed fit. It was astounding the number and various kinds of complaints that were made. They varied from the noisy automobile, the factory and railroad and steamboat whistles to the ringing of church bells and the crowing of roosters.

The so-called "flat" car-wheel, the worn rail, the railroad crossing bell, the crossing policeman's whistle, carpet-beating, the rattling of the milkman's cans and bottles, the summer-garden's alleged music, barking dogs and screeching cats, the news-boys, nocturnal band practice and even the rah rah boys all came in for consideration. In fact it seemed to have been proven beyond the shadow of a doubt that the traditional "57 varieties" of noise are present in Chicago, and the grave feature of the whole situation is that these complaints were all seriously made. It was moreover the belief of the committee that most of these noises are absolutely unnecessary and uncalled for in a large community.

Another feature of the subject that struck the committee very forcibly is the apparent lack of consideration for the comfort and feeling of the average citizen insofar as it relates to the noise nuisance. In practically every instance complained of it appeared that protest had been made and in many cases repeatedly to persons who certainly had it in their power to minimize the cause of the disturbance, and it was a rare exception that anything at all had been done to remedy or alleviate the conditions complained of.

It is very difficult indeed to venture a guess as to what a city's worst individual noise nuisance is,—the noises are so diversified as to their location. Perhaps 20 or 30 of the total number of the 57 classified noises are present more or less all the time during the day. Together they comprise a bedlam which in its aggregate is unquestionably shattering our nerves and indirectly shortening our lives.

Elevated railway trains in the larger cities are among the worst offenders where they run through a part of the city thick with houses, offices and stores. Engineers have worked on the

problem of lessening this nuisance, but so far as I know their work has not been of very much avail. It has been studied for many years not only in this country but in Europe as well.

Another contributory factor to unnecessary city noises is the old cobble stone pavement, which is still unfortunately present to some extent. The only advantage that it seems to possess is that it is hard and, presumably, durable. In this day and age, it would seem, it has no place in a modern city. One cannot imagine any good reason why the public should be obliged further to suffer from its existence. Wooden blocks at least have the advantage of deadening much of the sound and their smooth surface makes the keeping of the roadway clear of dirt and filth easy and economical.

Then, again, the surface street cars make too much noise. The motorman's gong, surely, is not nearly so loud or used so agressively as was the case a number of years ago and yet it is still too noisy. The rail connections, especially at junction points, frequently seem to be too loose and in many cases the cars almost jump over the rails, adding much to the sum total of apparently useless noises. There cannot be much excuse for the continued use of the so-called "flat wheel" and yet on certain lines of many cities they are not at all uncommon, adding much to the annoyance and discomfort of our citizens. The use of the flat wheel should be prohibited.

The shrill blast of the crossing policeman's whistle in downtown districts has been objected to by many citizens. It is said to be decidedly objectionable and irritating to people who spend a good part of their time on the streets or who are employed in stores and offices on the first floors of large buildings. There seems to be no legitimate reason why police officers cannot control traffic in streets by hand or mechanical signals as is done with perfect success in some American and foreign cities, or that less penetrating whistles be employed. If other street noises were reduced it would not be necessary to use a whistle that can be heard a distance of two or three blocks in a still atmosphere to signal to a teamster 30 to 40 feet away. I would like to see the noiseless white glove signal tried out in every large city. It has been employed in the park and boulevard systems of this city for many years and has proven effective and satisfactory.

IV

There has been much complaint concerning the noisy operation of automobiles and motorcycles, and justly so, it would seem. Several years ago, before the mechanism of these motor vehicles was perfected, there might have been some excuse for it, but in this day of mechanical perfection the auto should be practically silent in its operation. In most instances there is no reason to complain of noisy operation of automobiles. A small minority of drivers, however, evidently believe it to be the height of propriety and exceedingly clever to make about all the noise they can in the public streets. These gentlemen seem to be in the class of those who violate the speed laws. They are absolutely inconsiderate of the welfare of the public and are to be classed among the undesirables. They usually have 40 to 60 horsepower engines and throw open the muffler as they tear down the street, all too frequently between the hours of 11 p.m. and 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, awakening everyone within a radius of several blocks. They generally possess and use a horn of a volume three or four times greater than there is any legitimate necessity for.

If one drives carefully, little signaling is necessary. I know an individual who has driven an automobile daily for several months on an average of forty miles a day, and really had no trouble in getting along without any horn at all.

The motorcyclist is an individual against whom much complaint has been rightfully lodged. He has been accused of frequent open violation of the speed laws as well as of making too much noise. It is said that many of these machines in use have absolutely no muffler at all. Better regulation of these motorists by ordinance seems to be indicated.

The blowing of factory whistles is an unnecessary nuisance. It certainly does not seem at all necessary that workmen should be called to work and dismissed several times a day by the blowing of whistles that can be heard for miles to the annoyance and discomfort of hundreds of sick and nervous people. Railroad corporations and large department stores employing thousands of persons do not find it necessary to employ such methods and it would seem that gongs connected by wires with the timekeeper's office might be used as effectively and without annoyance to anyone. The factory whistle is doubtless a relic of olden times when watches and clocks were expensive and uncommon.

The crying of their wares and produce by hucksters and peddlers has become an intolerable nuisance in some communities. Where there are many sick people and in sections of the city where many people who work nights are trying to obtain some sleep during the day, it seems to be the worst. Stentorian crying is an unnecessary adjunct to the peddling business.

The visit of early morning milkmen is a source of much annoyance and irritation to the average citizen. From observations and reports, he seems to arrive about the same time all over town, anywhere from 3:30 to 6:30 o'clock. He announces his coming with a wagon whose wheels play in and out upon the axles to a wholly unnecessary degree. His well and heavily-shod horse seems to stamp his hoofs forcibly upon the hard pavement in order to call to the attention of the sleeper that his master is about to appear upon the scene. Then there is some jingling and jangling of bottles which rends the peace and tranquility of the early morning air and then begins the noisy ascent of the one, two or three flights of stairs. Delivery consolidation and better equipment of men and vehicles would tend to ameliorate this nuisance.

The noise and annoyance incident to the keeping of domestic animals in a large city is a problem somewhat difficult of control. That the barking dog, the bellicose feline and crowing rooster figure to quite an important extent in shattering the nerves and developing and encouraging profanity in most cities seems to be borne out by investigation and observation. There are many intelligent citizens who believe that a large city is no place for either dogs, cats or chickens, and yet the records of the city collector's office show the many thousands of dogs that are annually licensed in the city.

It is time for good citizens to take a serious interest in the problem. The passage and enforcement of anti-noise ordinances will not alone bring about a quiet city. It will help some but what is needed more than anything is the creation of popular sentiment against the continuance of the noise nuisance and in favor of the enforcement of ordinances relating thereto. It means a campaign of education. When people learn that much of the noise made is not in the least necessary but harmful to the health and comfort of the

community, and that much of it can be dispensed with without injury to legitimate commercial interests, the battle will be more than half won. The public must be taught that quiet surroundings as well as pure food, pure water, clean air and proper methods of sewage disposal are all hygienic measures essential to the health and comfort of all.

GIFFORD PINCHOT AND THE DIRECT PRIMARY

BY T. HENRY WALNUT
Of the Philadelphia Bar

At least once in Pennsylvania the Direct Primary functioned as its early disciples intended it should. :: :: :: :: :: ::

FAITH sometimes is rewarded. In 1913 when the state wide primary act was passed in Pennsylvania there was faith that its passage marked the end of machine domination in the selection of nominees. There was perhaps something childlike in the faith. Certainly it could show small justification until this year when Gifford Pinchot was nominated.

PINCHOT STARTED WITH NO FACTION BEHIND HIM

The story of his nomination is not quite so pure and simple as the original ideal but approximates it. He started his campaign for nomination on his own initiative and without the backing of any recognized political group. He was not a candidate of any faction or leader or combination of leaders. He was Gifford Pinchot exercising his right to submit his name to the Republican voters of the state for the party's nomination. In its origin his campaign represented the original simon pure ideal of the primary, and he was not granted an outside chance of winning by the practical men.

Ten years' experience under the primary had pretty well destroyed any faith in the chances of an independent candidate. In 1914 a respectable and independent gentleman had offered his name as a substitute for that of Boise Penrose, who was generally held to be neither respectable nor independent. He received ten thousand votes and Senator Penrose eighty thousand. In 1918 an aggressive crusader from the western end of the state launched a campaign for the Republican nomination for governor, and arrived nowhere.

These two efforts did not constitute by any means all of the contests in the state wide primary between 1913 and 1922. There were a number of bitter contests but in all cases the candidates went into battle with more or less political organization back of them, and the "more" invariably triumphed over the "less."

So we learned in Pennsylvania when a candidate entered the list to inquire at once "who is back of him?" and if no sufficient name appeared in the answer the candidate was promptly ignored as a factor in the fight. That question was asked about Pinchot by the knowing ones, and when they became convinced that no one was back of him but a lot of citizens who didn't count, they passed him up as a real

contender. Nine times out of ten that analysis would have been correct, but this was the tenth time and ordinary rules did not apply.

PROGRESSIVES WAIT TEN YEARS

Just ten years ago the Roosevelt Progressive wave passed over the state, swept Penrose out of the state convention, and left him powerless and voiceless with nothing but reverse influence, while a group of new and exultant men named the candidates for state offices for the Republican voters to support. Since that time, however, the naming of candidates has been left almost entirely to the regular Republican organization and the contests which have sometimes been bitter have been struggles between different factions of the organization.

Ten years is a long period for steadfast allegiance, particularly after the voters in general have given to the political organization support as unqualified as the Republican candidate for governor received four years ago and as the Republican candidate for president was given two years ago. The time was ripe for a reaction. Moreover Penrose was dead and there was a deal of fussing over the heir to his state wide authority which at one time promised to result in a three cornered fight between the organization candidates, with Pinchot in the fourth corner gathering in the voters who were at loose ends with the organization.

At the last moment two of the three organization candidates stepped out and the big end of the organization concentrated on a new candidate. The lists closed with three candidates in the field, two representing opposing factions in the organization, and Pinchot as an outsider. The schism between the two factions was so profound, however, that the weaker faction finally abandoned its candidate and swung in back of Pinchot.

ONLY THE DIRECT PRIMARY COULD HAVE MEASURED THE RESULT

The final vote was Pinchot 511,377 and Alter, the opposing candidate, 502,118, with 20,000 votes scattered. Whether Pinchot could have won in a purely independent fight is a matter that can be argued freely and decided as you choose. But primarily his appeal was made to the independent Republican voters and they constituted the bulk of his vote. The naïve faith of 1913 was in large degree justified.

There is considerable discussion as to the merits and demerits of the primary system. If you take the last Pennsylvania primary, however, one thing at least is manifest. There was a total of a million and thirty thousand votes cast for the candidates for nomination for governor, 4700 votes swung from Pinchot to Alter would have changed the result. No system except a direct primary could have measured such a result. The old-fashioned convention could not have come within hundreds of thousands of gauging the difference.

As an illustration of this latter conclusion we may take the situation that arose in the Republican state committee which convened three weeks after the nomination of Gifford Pinchot. The committee men were elected at the same primary at which Pinchot was nominated. They represented senatorial districts — the territorial unit of representation in the last state convention. There was a contest for the chairmanship of the committee. Pinchot fresh from his victory advocated one man for chairman, the defeated end of the organization, another. Pinchot's

candidate received 32 votes, the organization candidate 81. This result is indicative of the difference between the action of delegates and the direct vote.

Perhaps this illustration may not be entirely fair but if we assume that the state committee was a convention selected simply for the nomination of candidates and each member had voted in accordance with the wishes of his territorial district as manifested at the primary, Pinchot's vote as the nominee for governor would have been approximately 81 against a vote of 32 for his opponent, for he carried 61 out of 67 counties of the state. This would have been as wide of the mark as the action of the state committee.

It seems clear, therefore, that if we leave out of consideration all of the minor practical evils of coersion, bribery and manipulation which caused conventions to be so widely distrusted, there still remains the fundamental objection that no practical system of delegates can accurately measure the opinion of a majority or a plurality of the voters. Sometimes a convention will over emphasize the majority as the Pennsylvania state convention of 1912 did. Sometimes if the machinery of selection is sufficiently unrepresentative it will reverse the opinion of the majority as the Republican national convention of 1912 did. Where the difference is close, however, the convention is hopelessly inept at measuring it.

The importance of nominations cannot be given too much stress. In many instances the difference between candidates in the same party is greater both in principle and in fact than the difference between parties. The issue dividing Pinchot and Alter in the last Pennsylvania primary was wider in the opinion of many voters than that dividing the Republican and Democratic parties. This was equally true as to the issue dividing the Roosevelt-Taft groups of 1912.

ACCURATE MEASURE OF OPINION ESSENTIAL FOR NOMINATIONS AS FOR ELECTIONS

It is equally as important to secure an accurate measure of votes for a nomination of a candidate as it is for an election. The development of our voting machinery shows the appreciation of this necessity. The history of this development in Pennsylvania undoubtedly parallels that of other states. Forty years ago there was no recognition of parties on the statute books. Party endorsements, however, were valuable and the control of groups or conventions authorized to give this endorsement was fought for.

It isn't necessary, however, to go back forty years to find illustrations of the original form of nominating conference. It still appears occasionally. In 1910 a new party arose in Pennsylvania due to the wide spread belief that Penrose had controlled the conventions of both Republican and Democratic parties. The new party was fathered by a group of men in Philadelphia. It was of course necessary to get a state wide consensus of opinion as to the best candidate for governor. So a conference or convention was arranged for, and an energetic, practical man was sent out into the state to find leading citizens sufficiently interested to attend a convention in Philadelphia. He found the delegates, right enough, but when they appeared at the convention they were discovered to be united on one man—his man—as the candidate for governor, to the confusion of the Philadelphia contingent.

Of course the procedure of selection from the top down couldn't last long. Our politics operate from the bottom up.

DIRECT PRIMARY EVOLVED FROM EFFORTS TO REGULATE CONVENTIONS

Party rules first provided for the conventions, then for the method of creating the convention and selecting the delegates. In Pennsylvania these rules were elaborated until the voting for delegates by the party voters was conducted as formally as the voting at elections. But it was not a penal offense to play fast and loose with the result. So several grotesque statutes were enacted making it a misdemeanor for the party officers conducting the primaries to violate the party rules.

The next step was perfectly logical. The rules for the conduct of the primary were made statutory, an official ballot provided, and the whole proceeding tucked under the wing of the law. The development of the system was due to the insistence of the individual voter that a means should be provided for him to express his opinion and have it counted. Therefore the statutory primary at which he could vote for delegates became the direct primary at which he could vote for the candidate of his choice.

The final method is not unanimously approved. A number of the minor objections such as the increased expense both to the state and the candidates, and the increased complexity of the election machinery, must be overlooked, if we admit the fundamental importance of the method.

THE "RESPONSIBILITY" ARGUMENT

The real complaint lies in the alleged change in party responsibility and proceeds from a conception of our political life as divided between two parties standing for distinguishable theories of government. Followed naturally by the conclusion that in each party there should be so-called "expert leadership" to enunciate the party principles, deliberate on the qualifications of its candidates and send it fully equipped with book and sword, into battle with its adversary. The primary it is argued destroys this leadership, practically removes the possibility of enunciating party platforms as distinct from the platforms of candidates, and leaves the deliberation on the qualifications of candidates to the random guess of the voters.

As a remedy for this situation it is proposed to return to the party convention or at least to provide some sort of pre-primary conference or meeting which might speak with authority for the party both in the making of issues and the approving of candidates. The action of the conference to be submitted if challenged to the party voters at a primary.

The Democratic party in Pennsylvania held such a pre-primary caucus, or conference or convention before the last primary to discuss candidates. The meeting was outside the law and outside the rules. It was created from the top down. Its recommendation of a nominee for governor was followed, that for lieutenant governor was rejected by the voters in the ensuing primary. If this conference should be perpetuated and its recommendations should carry real weight there would immediately develop a contest for its control which would result in the taking of the several steps which separated the old caucus from the direct primary, and we would simply swing through another cycle.

But such a pre-primary meeting is only needed where the party organization is loosely constructed. The Republican organization in Pennsylvania which is highly developed doesn't need that kind of a meeting. It does hold meetings. The change of laws hasn't

resulted in any change in that particular. When Penrose was the clearing house for the political power of the state, the meetings were held wherever he was.

It should be understood that the men who attend these meetings constitute the "expert leadership" of the state. There is only one kind of "expert leadership" in political affairs and that is composed of the men who are expert in giving the individual voter what he wants.

A half dozen of those experts speak for a half million Republican voters either in their own right or by proxy. They are the spokesmen for the organization. We still have responsible party leadership in Pennsylvania where it existed before. But with the direct primary we have the open door for a challenge to that party leadership. Through it the final decision comes back to the individual voter. He can't be escaped. He is the beginning and end of our political life. He makes leaders and bosses. He sustains them and upsets them. Whether we like it or not he has to be trusted. The direct primary provides him with the handiest means yet devised to enable him to express his will.

THE BOSTON ELEVATED RAILWAY

FOUR YEARS UNDER PUBLIC OPERATION

BY EDWARD DANA
General Manager, Boston Elevated Railway

Under The Public Control Act the Boston Elevated Railway was practically leased to the State of Massachusetts for a term of ten years. Five trustees, appointed by the governor, have control over the operation of the railway. The rental is paid in fixed dividends upon outstanding stock. :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: :: ::

In the February, 1921, issue of the National Municipal Review there appeared a paper by Mr. Jackson, chairman of the board of trustees of the Boston Elevated Railway, outlining the public trustee plan in Boston (created by Chap. 159 of the special Acts of the Legislature of Massachusetts of 1918 known as "The Public Control Act"). On June 30, 1922, four years of public control had elapsed. In attempting to outline the situation at the close of these four years it seems appropriate to make reference to facts and conditions and permit individual conclusions to be drawn from them.

HAD BEEN OPERATING AT A LOSS

The paper of Mr. Jackson outlined the functioning of the act and it is assumed that the method devised in Boston under the Massachusetts plan is consequently understood. In order therefore to visualize the operation of this public utility it seems wise to call attention to the statistics showing revenues and expenditures by years since 1910 and from them to point out salient features and then explain what is actually going on at the present time.

In the first instance from 1910 to June 30, 1918, the fare had remained

at 5 cents and the gross revenue during these nine years had increased from fifteen and one-quarter millions to nineteen and one-half millions. Operating expenses had increased from ten millions to fourteen and one-quarter millions, the chief factors being the gradual increase of the payroll and the increased cost of fuel. During these years the allowance for renewals or depreciation had been insufficient and also during this period in order to hold the 5-cent fare in face of increased operating expenses and other fixed charges, adequate current maintenance had not been provided. Under these circumstances, with less maintenance than was required by the property, with insufficient renewals and with the passing of the dividends completely for the year, the year ending June 30, 1918, showed an operating deficit of $598,442.

It was these facts which resulted in the experiment with public control beginning July 1, 1918, under the service-at-cost plan, which is based on sound economic principles. It was designed to put an end to the down-hill flight which had been going on unceasingly, as new subways had been added which increased the charges on the car rider and as operating expenses steadily increased notwithstanding insufficient provision for maintenance and renewals.

The first year of public operation under the provisions of the act required increase in fares. At the same time substantial increases in wages and cost of materials, supplies and fuel were occasioned by war conditions, with the result shown in the tabulation of an actual deficit of $5,415,500.

THE TEN-CENT FARE ADOPTED

During the first year it was necessary under the act to use the reserve fund of one million dollars created under the act and to assess the cities and towns in the district served $3,980,151 in order to provide sufficient funds to meet the cost of service during that year. During the second trustee year it was necessary to go to a flat 10-cent fare on the entire system in order to keep pace with the rise of wages and costs during these troubled times. At the end of the second year receipts exceeded cost of service by $17,079 which was transformed to a deficit by a retroactive wage award in July, 1920.

During the third year which ended June 30, 1921, operating expenses reached the maximum of $24,684,558 including for wages the maximum of $16,753,657. Subway rentals likewise had increased from $559,000 in 1910 to approximately two million in 1921. Wages had been further increased by arbitration in July, 1920. Yet the efforts made by the entire operating organization resulted in meeting the situation without departing from the 10-cent fare and holding the operating expenses to an increase of approximately $350,000 over the second year in the face of estimated increase in wages, cost of materials and supplies of over three millions. The receipts during the third year exceeded the cost of service by $550,253.52 and permitted restoration of $131,985.01 to the reserve fund after payment of the second year's deficit.

The fourth trustee year has just closed and a different state of conditions is apparent. After meeting all costs of service there remained a balance of $1,385,211.44. This balance plus the $131,985 of the third year has been applied in restoring the reserve fund to its original total of $1,000,000 and in making the first payment of $517,196.45 to the state for distribution to the cities and towns that contributed to the loan assessment in 1919. Operating expenses had been reduced from $24,684,000 to $22,113,000, and

the payroll had been reduced from $16,753,000 to $14,920,000. This result was brought about not by radical cuts in wage rates but rather by the introduction of more efficient methods of operation and the co-operative effort of the entire organization, together with reasonable reduction in rates.

SHORT HAUL FARE NOW FIVE CENTS

It should be noted that the gross revenue fell from $34,224,000 in the third year to $32,781,000 in the year just closed. The board of public trustees had inaugurated a system of local 5-cent fares in conjunction with the flat 10-cent fare which at the present time results in 21 per cent of the total traffic being handled for 5 cents and which has restored millions of riders on short hauls who were lost on account of the introduction of the 10-cent fare. The average fare consequently at the present time is 8.95 cents.

The retention of the basic 10-cent fare has been necessary, however, in order to secure the gross revenue required to meet the cost of service which in 1922 amounted to $31,396,281. As contrasted with this the gross revenue during the year 1917, when 381,000,000 revenue passengers were carried at a universal 5-cent fare, amounted to only $19,788,953. It can readily be seen that any hope of meeting the cost of service with a universal 5-cent fare cannot be realized. At the present time with the joint 5 and 10-cent fare passengers are being carried at the rate of 360,000,000 per year which is considerably above the low point of 325,000,000 in 1919 and not far from the high point of the 381,000,000 previously referred to.

LABOR MORE EFFICIENT

It may well be asked at this time as to what effect the Boston service-at-cost plan has on efficiency of operation, incentive for economical operation, freedom from political or other interference and spirit of service to the car rider.

In this respect it is believed much has been accomplished. Employes have been acquainted with the provisions of the act, with the intimate details of financial matters and the progress made from time to time in improving service and meeting the difficulties of operation. During this period two decreases in compensation have been amicably adjusted between management and employes and a constant effort has been made to operate the property always in the interest of the car rider with the fewest men possible. The average number of men on the payrolls during the four trustee years has been as follows:

1918–19	9,748
1919–20	10,021
1920–21	9,264
1921–22	8,915

Likewise it is of interest to note that the labor turnover has been reduced to a minimum and in fact all platform men or car service employes have been in service four and one-half years or more which necessarily results in benefit to the service. This compares with a former annual labor turnover of 55 per cent.

In this connection it has been possible to work out an eight hour day as well as a guaranteed pay of eight hours for all platform men with the result that whereas under the former conditions a large number of spare men were required, under the conditions existing today a much smaller number of spare men are required all of whom receive a full day's pay. The so-called spare men reporting each day represent 6.7 per cent of the total today as compared with 20 per cent previously.

Referring to the statistical table

again it is interesting to note that the expense incurred on account of injuries and damages for the fourth trustee year was $476,844, and following back through thirteen years it will be noted this is the lowest of any of these years and yet vehicular congestion is greater and the movement of people on the highways greater than in previous years.

The total expense on account of injuries and damages including the cost of operating the claim department, trial of cases, etc., for the last trustee year amounted to $620,207.73 which represents 1.89 per cent of the gross revenue, the lowest ratio in the railway's history.

Much has been done in improving the service. Although the mileage operated last year (49,662,045) was less than any year back to 1905, the introduction of two and three-car train service and cars of larger carrying capacity with scientific re-arrangement of schedules has provided additional service where needed and permitted the elimination of mileage where not required.

It is of interest to note that the number of revenue seat miles per revenue passenger for the last year was 7.5 which for those acquainted with this figure as an index of service would indicate adequate service allowance by operating mileage only where required. At congested points more seats are provided than before while surplus seating capacity has been removed at points where it previously existed. This is the acme of proper service and results in minimum cost to the car rider.

MORE FOR MAINTENANCE AND DEPRECIATION

Under the act the board of trustees were charged with the responsibility of providing for proper maintenance. The percentage of total railway operating revenue applied to maintenance and depreciation consequently has been approximately 24 per cent whereas previously the percentage of operating revenue applied to maintenance and depreciation had been 17 per cent. What has been accomplished with respect to car equipment is illustrated by comparison of the number of disabled cars in 1918 and 1921 which shows a reduction of 68.7 per cent for surface cars and 53 per cent for rapid transit cars. The percentage of cars out of service in bad order has been reduced to 5 per cent. At the same time through the operation of the renewal charge which has been conservatively adopted it has been possible to replace much of the rolling stock which was unsatisfactory from the point of service to the car rider and expense to maintain. During the period of public operation 535 new cars have been placed in service and 140 additional cars are now on order.

A reasonable program of track reconstruction has been maintained which has resulted in improved operation, lessened the wear and tear on rolling stock, and reduced derailments.

The latest modern machinery has been employed in the construction of track in the interest of efficiency and economy. Recently it was found that the railway's own forces, due to organization and this machinery, were enabled to construct a section of track cheaper than the figures submitted for the work by contract on an advertised bid.

During the trustee year approximately 7 per cent of the track has been rebuilt as compared with an average of $2\frac{1}{4}$ per cent for the previous six years, which means 22 miles of track as compared with 8.

The following newspaper quotation is of interest:

FINANCIAL EXPERIENCE OF BOSTON ELEVATED RAILWAY

COMPARATIVE DIVISION OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES FOR THE YEARS ENDING JUNE 30

(The Years 1919 to 1922 Inclusive were Under Public Operation)

	1922	1921	1920	1919	1918	1917	1916	1910
Total receipts	$32,781,493.10	$34,224,149.83	$32,689,200.87	$25,223,495.72	$19,480,022.08	$19,788,953.25	$18,781,327.74	$15,245,865.48
Operating expenses:								
Wages	$14,920,406.05	$16,7[illegible]667.74	$16,381,206.58	$13,554,684.15	$9,147,757.25	$9,033,868.40	$8,351,117.54	$5,910,757.73
Material, supplies and other items	3,056,520.80	[illegible]83.9[illegible]	[illegible]1.70	4,096,537.98	2,680,423.77	1,951,176.39	1,921,083.01	2,376,033.78
Injuries and damages	476,844.02	62[illegible],29[illegible]	[illegible]26.48	805,353.09	817,227.18	819,705.54	762,351.77	776,588.37
Depreciation	2,004,000.00	2,004,000.00	2,004,000.00	2,004,000.00	352,670.00	330,000.00	220,000.00	200,000.00
Fuel	1,656,012.89	2,399,277.71	1,996,717.21	1,901,596.75	1,381,957.20	947,412.50	825,443.64	822,497.54
Total operating expenses	$22,113,783.76	$24,684,558.41	$24,331,221.97	$22,362,171.97	$14,380,035.40	$13,082,162.83	$12,079,995.96	$10,085,877.42
Taxes	$1,610,096.47	$1,306,736.39	$1,075,496.70	$941,611.50	$905,032.96	$984,070.55	$1,043,041.89	$1,213,089.37
Rent of leased roads	2,549,625.48	2,673,166.56	2,607,565.96	2,587,129.57	2,547,420.60	2,428,512.28	2,395,801.21	2,028,165.15
Subway and tunnel rents	1,974,141.07	1,947,963.20	1,591,323.98	1,491,999.54	991,551.30	995,093.45	915,192.35	559,469.14
Interest on B. E. bonds and notes	1,483,786.91	1,483,625.54	1,593,257.58	1,423,142.14	1,238,373.55	1,138,655.88	1,129,677.70	556,000.00
Miscellaneous items	58,475.99	54,479.21	69,284.73	37,372.67	16,050.44	9,525.11	13,845.90	—
Dividends	1,606,371.98	1,523,367.00	1,403,970.00	1,360,220.00	.....	1,193,970.00	1,193,970.00	1,002,003.00
Total cost of service	$31,396,281.66	$33,673,896.31	$32,672,120.92	$30,203,647.39	$20,078,464.25	$19,831,990.10	$18,771,528.01	*$15,444,604.08
Loss or gain	$1,385,211.44	$550,253.52	$17,079.95	*$4,980,151.67	*$598,442.17	*$43,036.85	$9,799.73	$198,738.60
Back pay applying to May and June, 1919, but paid in October, 1919	.....	.....	.....	*435,348.46	.....	.....	.....	.....
				*$5,415,500.13				

* Loss.

By dint of good planning for the night use of electric cranes, air compressors and a concrete breaker with five 500 pound teeth, the Elevated gave an admirable lesson in quick tracklaying on Boylston Street over the week end.

Much could be detailed in regard to improvements such as have been made in power plant equipment, signals, repair shops, motorizing horse drawn equipment, development of modern carhouse yards, as well as the progress made upon the modern centralized mechanical repair shops now under way all vitally affecting the quality and quantity of service which can be rendered.

The railway today has over two million cash on deposit, one million of which is in the reserve fund created under the Public Control Act. For the first time in eleven and one-half years the railway has no money borrowed from the banks. As contrasted with this there was a floating indebtedness in excess of five millions during the first trustee year.

RECENT BOOKS REVIEWED

LONDON OF THE FUTURE. By the London Society, under the editorship of Sir Aston Webb, K.C.V.O., C.B., P.R.A. American publishers, E. P. Dutton & Co., New York, 1921. 286 pages royal octavo, with many inserted illustrations and diagrams.

This sumptuous and impressive volume is at once a history, a hope and a prophecy. Dealing as it does with the largest city in the world, it is appropriate that it should not be the work of one man, but rather the expression of a number of learned and eminent experts, each treating that section of the whole in which his knowledge and experience will most avail.

There are eighteen chapters, including the editor's explanatory introduction, in which he tells us that "the object of The London Society is to interest Londoners in London," in order to emphasize "the importance of taking a large view of London as a whole," so that "what is done shall be part of one great scheme, and so give a unity and completeness to London improvements of the future which has been denied to her in the past." We would in the United States probably sum up the presentation as a Plan for London, and yet the broad reach of the book goes beyond the ordinary city plan when it treats of "London as the Heart of the Empire," and in a lofty summing up speaks of "The Spirit of London."

The limits of this review forbid more than a glance at this great work, an appreciation of which at its value might well take up a dozen pages of the REVIEW. The subjects discussed, each by a master, cover all the varied scope that needs to be included in dealing with the homes of more than seven millions of people, associated in a location which very truly makes it "the heart of the empire," according to the Earl of Meath. Before briefly stating the subjects touched upon, it seems very proper to an American who found himself quickly in love with London on his first visit, to further quote from Sir Aston Webb's introduction a heart-warming paragraph. He writes, "Another aim of The London Society is the jealous preservation of all that is old and beautiful in London, as far as is possible. It appears necessary to emphasize this, as it seems by some to be thought that it is the aim and desire of the Society to reconstruct London, and to turn it into another Paris, sweeping away any parts of old London that may come in its way. Nothing could be further from the Society's object." This same fine ideal is well expressed in Lord Curzon's definition of the objects of the Society, when he addressed it before the great war, as, "To make London beautiful where it is not so already, and to keep it beautiful where it already is."

Some humor enters into the detailed consideration of the great work for London contemplated in this book. "The Dean of St. Paul's has lately suggested the blowing up of Charing Cross Bridge as our National War Memorial." The suggestion is approved, and meanwhile the Society has managed to prevent the Southeastern Railway Company from making more permanent this hideous structure.

The breadth of treatment of "London of the Future" may be inferred in the titles of the chapters, aside from the two already cited, and the important introduction. "The Opportunities of London" lead into "Roads, Streets and Traffic of London," followed by "London Railway Reconstruction," in which latter paper one is impressed by the statement that even in 1911 the local railways carried 436,498,795 passengers. "Commercial Aviation and London" takes into account the necessary provision for this newer form of travel. "The Bridges of London" is a suggestive as well as a historical paper, and "London and the Channel Tunnel" proposes to "create a new London for our children."

"The Surrey Side," "Central London," "The Port of London," "The East End," follow, and then Raymond Unwin provides "Some Thoughts on the Development of London," bearing heavily on attempts to decentralize population. Details of city life are treated in "The Housing of London," "The Government of London," "The Parks and Open Spaces of London," and "The Smoke Plague of London," all papers written with sane thought for the future. Because each is broadly important, and written rather from a world standpoint than from the insular view, a study and statement of any one of them would run too far into available space. Fascinating glimpses of history are frequent, as when, in discussing housing, Mr. Davidge recites that Queen Elizabeth, appalled at the overcrowding of London in her day, decreed that "an open space of three miles should be maintained all around the city, on which no building whatever should be allowed, and even outside this limit no cottage

was to be erected unless it was surrounded with at least four acres of land."

One wonders with hope whether there could be any work so broad and fine about the second city in the world, our own metropolis. Would that the City Club could foster and idealize so splendid and yet so practicable a look ahead for New York as that contained in "London of the Future."

J. Horace McFarland.

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Analysis of the Electric Railway Problem. By Delos F. Wilcox, Ph.D. 789 pp. The Author, 1921.

This volume constitutes the report made to the Federal Electric Railways Commission, appointed by the President in 1919, by Dr. Wilcox, who was engaged to make an analysis of the testimony and documents received by the Commission. This report was not published as part of the proceedings of the Commission, and the author has undertaken its independent publication to make it available as a reference work. It is indeed regrettable that this analysis does not appear in official form, and it would have been unfortunate if the mass of material, gathered by the Commission after much effort and expense, had remained undigested.

The author is supremely qualified, through long experience and fundamental understanding, for the task of analyzing the mass of data submitted quite haphazardly to the Commission. The result represents, in the opinion of the Commission, "a complete and masterful study of the whole electric railway problem." The material covers 54 chapters, besides an index and appendices, making a total of 657 pages. An enumeration of some of the chapter titles will suffice to indicate the topics considered: "The Street Railway an Essential Public Industry," "Credit and Co-operation the Co-ordinate Needs of the Electric Railways," "Why Has Electric Railway Credit Been Lost," "Financial Reorganization," "The Valuation," "The Rate of Return," "Service at Cost," "The Electric Railway Labor Problems." Space precludes reviewing in detail any particular portions of the voluminous report.

The problem facing the electric railways through the breakdown of their credit is clearly and comprehensively presented. Among the various causes assigned are overcapitalization, financial exploitation, unnecessary extensions; inflexible fares; special taxation; jitney competition; uneconomical management, and increase in cost of operation. In each case, the author cites the testimony of witnesses who appeared before the Commission. Incidentally, there is much overlapping which judicious selection might have avoided, and much space is given to mere corroborative expressions of little value as proof. The author shows that the extensive impairment of credit was inevitable and was merely brought to a crisis by the war, and that therefore the problem is one of fundamental reorganization and not temporary adjustment.

After analyzing the causes of the collapse of the credit, Dr. Wilcox next discusses the constructive suggestions for its restoration. These embrace proposals for higher fares, remission of taxes, regulation of jitney competition, greater operating economies, and reorganization of the companies on a sound financial basis. He treats particularly the relative merits of state regulation, the alternative of semi-automatic control through service-at-cost, and municipal ownership and operation.

Throughout Dr. Wilcox supplements the opinion evidence of the witnesses by opinions of his own. While every public-minded person will agree with substantially all that he says in respect to the causes for the collapse and will readily subscribe to the view that no mere policy of opportunism but a comprehensive and constructive policy is needed, yet he may rightly differ from the idea which finds expression, directly or indirectly, throughout the book,—that the only ultimate and permanent solution is public ownership and operation. Even Dr. Wilcox recognizes that dominant public opinion, rightly or wrongly, is arrayed against him and that obviously, except in some compelling emergency, the program could not become effective in the near future. While, of course, every city should be free to determine its own transportation policy and the arbitrary legal restrictions to public ownership and operation should be removed, even at best the difficulties of public ownership and operation are great, and there is no reason for shutting out consideration of other methods which in particular instances may better meet the situation.

While, unquestionably, public regulation has been gravely disappointing, as the reviewer has been showing by his articles in the Review, the difficulties of reorganizing the methods of regulation certainly appear no greater than those involved in overcoming deep-rooted prejudice

against public ownership and operation and especially in reconstituting the machinery of municipal government required for efficient operation. The service-at-cost plans have by no means been demonstrated as complete failures from the public standpoint. There are other methods of organization which may prove their way with further experience. Why shut out consideration of everything except the one solution, which, admittedly, involves very great difficulties?

JOHN BAUER.

PRINCIPLES OF PUBLIC PERSONNEL ADMINISTRATION. By Arthur W. Proctor. Published under direction of Institute for Government Research, by D. Appleton & Company, New York, 1922. Pp. 165, with appendices.

In this volume the author endeavors to deal, in a comprehensive way, with the problem of public personnel administration. It is a well-written treatise and contains a great deal of information which legislative and administrative officials should have. The subject is discussed in plain, simple style, easily understood by the layman. It is indicative of the awakened interest in the importance of effective personnel management in the public service. The book is not intended as an exhaustive study. Its purpose, as announced in the preface, is "to furnish a brief introduction to the study of the problems that confront all governments of securing and maintaining an efficient personnel."

During his long period of contact with public personnel matters, as a staff member of President Taft's Commission on Economy and Efficiency, with the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, in charge of the investigation work of the inquiry regarding the standardization of public employments made by the senate committee on civil service of New York state, and later with the Institute for Government Research, Mr. Proctor has had an unusual opportunity to study personnel conditions as they actually exist in the public service. He writes with first-hand knowledge. He has discussed, and not without success, the general principles applicable to personnel control in the municipal, state and federal service.

In an interesting and informing way he discusses the important factors entering into a complete personnel program. His presentation of the need for a public employment program is perhaps the strongest part of the entire volume and should appeal to good citizens, both in and out of official position, as fundamental. The chapters devoted to Standardization of Public Employment, Recruiting and Selection, Training for Public Service, Efficiency Rating, and Promotion will be of interest to personnel officers and civil service commissioners and administrators.

Students of the personnel problem in public administration will not altogether agree with the author either as to the conclusions which he has reached or as to the emphasis which should be placed on certain phases of employment administration. The work, however, is a distinct contribution to the subject and will undoubtedly play its part in the awakening of the public and official mind to the realization that the success or failure of future public administration, both from the standpoint of effectiveness and economy, is going to depend more and more upon a capable, properly compensated, properly organized, and properly controlled personnel.

CHARLES P. MESSICK.

THE STATE AND GOVERNMENT. By James Quayle Dealey. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1921. Pp. xiv and 367.

This book constitutes a complete rewriting, with a considerable enlargement, of the author's earlier volume—*The Development of the State* (1909). It gives the historical, social and ethical bases and relations of the essential institutions, activities, methods and ideals of political government. It does not describe the governments of particular countries successively; nor is it merely a comparative study of government—by organs, departments and functions. On the other hand, it is not essentially a study in political theory. It attempts rather to set forth in concise form the genesis, evolution and essential character of present-day organs and functions of the state and of present-day political doctrines. For each of our familiar governmental devices and dogmas (*e.g.*, written constitutions, popular sovereignty, the industrial functions of the state, jury trial, forms of penalty, legislative procedure) the author indicates its primitive stages, the series of events through it developed into its present form, its specific social and ethical utility.

In the execution of this plan the author displays a wide, accurate and appreciative familiarity with the ideas of others in this wide field, and an effective mastery of his own ideas. It does

not seem correct to say (p. 168) that the principle of the separation of powers "in the United States is found chiefly in the federal system, having made little headway in State or municipal government"; or to speak of the "Swiss Rousseau"; and it is obviously a slip to say (p. 299) that the compulsory referendum on legislation exists in all of the Swiss cantons except Fribourg. In chapter XIX—on "Citizenship, Rights and Obligations"—the presentation does not seem altogether precise; here the author seems not to discriminate adequately between legal rights and moral or ideal rights. In general the discussion shows a clear apprehension of essentials, is at all points adequately fortified by illustrations, and is in all parts sane and fair in its appraisal of the validity of contemporary political tendencies and ideals.

Those who exalt the practical over theoretical aspects of political science pursue an impractical policy if they ignore (as matters of merely academic interest) the historical and social roots of present-day political institutions, doctrines and ideals. The volume in hand is a scholarly work of great practical utility.

F. W. Coker.

Budget Making. By Arthur Eugene Buck. New York: D. Appleton & Company, 1921. Pp. 234 with charts.

What is popularly known as the budget system is now a fact accomplished in the federal government, in 46 state governments, and in several hundred American cities. Considering the executive officials directly involved in all these cases in the making of budgets, the members of federal, state, and municipal legislatures having a voice in the adoption of governmental financial programs, and the large body of citizens who take an active interest in the subject, there is presumably a widespread need for information on the technique of budget making.

Mr. Buck has written his book with the object of offering practical help to those desiring this technical information. The advantages of the budget plan of governmental financing are referred to only incidentally, *e.g.*, in setting forth the processes and forms required for clearness, accuracy, and completeness in the budget information. Throughout the book the author adheres closely to his plan of explaining in detail the various steps necessary in giving effectiveness to the purpose of the budget system.

A budget, as Mr. Buck views it, is a complete financial plan for a definite period, based on careful estimates of both expenditures and probable income, and presenting both the expenditure side and the revenue side. The making of such a budget or financial plan, he points out, constitutes a complete cycle of operations. This cycle begins with the recording of information as the basis of the work, and includes the preparation of estimates, the comparative and objective analysis of these estimates, and from that proceeds to the formulation, review, and adoption of the financial plan itself. The cycle is completed by the execution of the plan and the coincident recording of more information for use in preparing the next budget. Moreover, each succeeding budget, while complete in itself, is in reality only a link in the lengthening chain of the government's financial experience and policy.

It is necessary, of course, before a budget is made, that there should be a budget-making authority. Properly, therefore, Mr. Buck not only describes the executive, board, and legislative types of budget-making authorities, but also includes a classification of the states, and some of the more important cities, with respect to the kind of budget-making authority adopted. It is interesting to find that the budget plan in 24 states is of the executive type, in 21 states of the board type, and in one state of the legislative type. There is also a discussion of budget staff agencies, in which is pointed out the value of such a body having a permanent character and a trained personnel—a value that unfortunately is as yet generally overlooked by cities and states alike.

The book is rich in description of the kind of information needed in the budget, the system of classification, and the methods and exact forms to be used in gathering the necessary estimates and in correlating them in budget form. It takes up step by step the reviewing and revising of the budget proposals, the requisite appropriation measures for legislative consideration, and the procedure of giving life and effect to the financial program. Emphasis is laid on the advantages of making the budget a document that tells a complete story in interesting terms and of accompanying it with a budget message that will "put the budget in the news class with the baseball game."

Russell Ramsey.

NOTES AND EVENTS

I. GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Mayor Hylan's Traction Plan for New York City.—On September 6, Mayor Hylan submitted to the board of estimate and apportionment of New York city, a comprehensive municipal transportation plan. This includes the construction, acquisition and operation of an outright municipal system, not connected in any way with financing and operation by a private company. Public hearings on the plan were started on September 15, to get the benefit of criticisms and suggestions of various public organizations. The plan is to be molded into an accepted municipal program at the earliest possible moment.

The plan contemplates the immediate introduction and operation of municipal buses, requiring an estimated investment of $25,000,000. The buses would serve where the street surface lines have been discontinued and where inadequate local transportation is provided; also where they would operate better and more economically than the surface street railway lines.

The buses, however, are to be operated as an integral part of the proposed rapid transit system. Construction of two subway trunk lines through Manhattan would be started immediately: one on the east side and one on the west side, with branches and extensions to serve the requirements of the other boroughs. This would meet the more pressing transportation needs of the city. Besides, there would be constructed a number of other extensions, crosstown lines, and tunnels to serve and connect the several boroughs. The plan contemplates also the "recapture" of most of the existing subway lines, in part financed by the city and now operated by the private companies under the rapid transit contracts Numbers 3 and 4. This acquisition would be carried out under the terms of the contracts between the city and the companies.

If the plan is carried out, the city would own and operate all the buses and all the subways, except one line left to the Interborough Rapid Transit Company because it cannot be recaptured under the contract with the company. The private companies would retain the surface and the elevated lines; also the one subway line which cannot be recaptured by the city. With this one exception, the city would operate practically all of the really modern transportation properties, while the companies would have the lines which are in various stages of obsolescence. A large proportion of the surface lines have unquestionably outlived their usefulness, and most of the elevated lines are inadequate for future transportation requirements.

The cost of financing the plan has been estimated at $600,000,000, to cover the buses, the recapture and the new construction. The city has already a subway investment of about $300,000,000; so that its total investment with the completed project would be about $900,000,000.

The plan seems to meet the New York city situation admirably. While a completely unified system might, in general, be desirable, including not only all subways and buses but also elevated and surface lines, this appears practically out of the question because of the excessive prices demanded by the companies for the more or less defunct surface and elevated properties. The New York Transit Commission has been working for the establishment of a single unified system, but its efforts will apparently come to nothing because the companies will not accept valuations of the properties on the basis of their present physical condition and remaining serviceability. The mayor's plan of an independent municipal system is the only reasonable way out of the difficult situation. It will provide new transportation facilities and will leave the private companies to operate their properties under their franchise or contract requirements.

The only dubious point in the plan as first submitted is the "recapture" feature. This should be considered very carefully before it is finally definitely accepted in a municipal program. The difficulty with recapture of existing subway lines is the excessive price that would have to be paid, for the amounts are fixed under contract definitions and are unreasonably high. Because of this fact, it might be better to let the companies operate the existing subways under the contracts, and for the city to proceed with the construction and operation of new subways, taking in the present subways only at the expiration of the contracts. But this is a mere detail, which doubtless will receive careful consideration before final determination.

JOHN BAUER.

How Buffalo Secured a City Plan.—At the fall election in 1920 a referendum question was submitted to the citizens of Buffalo which, voted upon affirmatively by a large majority, became a mandate upon the council of the city. This important question read as follows: "Shall the council of the City of Buffalo adopt plans for the location and grouping of the public buildings of the city prior to September 1, 1922, and thereupon proceed to acquire the lands necessary therefor, with the view of constructing public buildings thereon from time to time as necessity may arise?"

This action was in large measure the result of an intensive publicity campaign carried on by the Buffalo City Planning Association, Inc., an organization of interested citizens with which some hundred civic and business clubs were affiliated. The council immediately turned over to the City Planning Committee, its own appointed body, the problem of making a plan for the location and grouping of future buildings and this group of men spent the next fifteen months in considering the situation in all its aspects.

Early in the year of 1922 the plans were ready for presentation to the public and, with the consent of the council, the Buffalo City Planning Association, Inc., undertook to make the plan public and to promote intelligent discussion. The first step was the preparation of a mailing list. From the basic list of the full membership of several large organizations, this grew to 15,000 through the addition of names submitted by each affiliated organization, by the Democratic and Republican organizations in each election district, and by the addition of hundreds of names as a result of later newspaper publicity and out of town requests from city planning officials throughout the country.

The Buffalo City Planning Association, Inc., had some hundred organizations affiliated with it at the beginning of the 1922 campaign. It solicited opportunities of presenting the plan to these and other organizations and eventually increased the number of its affiliated organizations to 181. These were actively behind the plan.

The next step was to secure the co-operation of the newspapers of the city. Each paper definitely assigned a reporter for city planning publicity.

These men were then called together and the entire city plan was explained to them as well as the plan for carrying the publicity. The morning papers were given the first, third, etc., releases, the evening papers the second, fourth, etc., releases. This plan was followed out in the campaign and worked very satisfactorily. The co-operation and support which all the papers gave to the publicity campaign and the plan itself is a part which merits attention. Without this support and co-operation, carrying the campaign to a successful conclusion, would have meant a problem of infinitely greater magnitude. Buffalo is proud of the spirit its papers showed!

Simultaneously with these activities the plans were gone over with small groups of people, many of them prominent members of leading clubs. At first talks were given by members of the City Planning Committee, but as the publicity process expanded the need for a larger corps of speakers arose. To meet this need the Buffalo City Planning Association, Inc., held training classes for and organized a speakers' bureau of 68 men and women. It prepared, for the use of the speakers' bureau, several duplicate sets of lantern slides which compactly illustrated the various features of the plan and included the basic city planning principles and contrasted Buffalo problems with those in other cities.

The culmination of the campaign was the public hearing held on May 9, in Buffalo's largest auditorium. This was the first public hearing in Buffalo to be held outside of the city hall, and the first to be held in the evening. It meant that every interested citizen could be present. Several thousand people attended and the sentiment of the meeting was 99 per cent in favor of the plan suggested by the City Planning Committee.

Then on June 15 a final public hearing was held and after due deliberation the plan in its entirety was adopted by the council.

CHAUNCEY J. HAMLIN.

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Second Year of Detroit's New Criminal Court.—Detroit's reorganized and unified criminal court has now completed its second year. It is the only unified criminal court in the United States; and those interested should send to the Detroit Bureau of Governmental Research, Inc., for a copy of their recent appraisal of its work.

Viewed from numerous angles, the new court fulfills the hopes of its makers. In disposing of felonies it is much more expeditious than the old. A comparison of 1,948 cases in 1919 with 3,338 cases in 1921 shows that only 15 per cent of the

former were disposed of in four weeks while 84 per cent of the latter were completed in the same time. During 1921 sufficient time was given to do justice in each case, but dilatory methods common to criminal courts were not tolerated.

Another noteworthy fact is the heavy increase of the number placed under probation. The figures are 750 for 1919 and 1888 for 1921. Yet when prison sentences were imposed they were more severe than before. This was particularly true in robbery and burglary cases.

Detroit has a psychopathic clinic as an integral part of the court. Although other cities have employed it in minor offenses, this is the first time that psychiatry has been applied to felonies. The usefulness of this clinic and the manner in which it operates is described by the following case related in the report of the Detroit Bureau.

The case is that of a woman, 41 years of age, examined in the psychopathic clinic September 27, 1921, on the occasion of her arrest charged with larceny from the person. The examination showed her to be recovering from the effects of delirium tremens, with deteriorating effects of long drug addiction, and she had an almost total lack of any appreciation of her duty toward others. The police department record showed that she had been arrested for larceny in 1919 in Detroit and had received a fine of $50 upon that occasion. Investigation into her history by correspondence with places where she had lived and institutions in which she had been, disclosed the following facts:

She began to be sexually promiscuous at the age of ten and to drink excessively at that time. Her first arrest occurred when she was eleven, for which she received a fine. When she was twelve she was arrested as a truant from school, and later, the same year, for larceny, for which she was sentenced for six months in the Washington jail. One month after discharge from the jail she was arrested for larceny and this time sent to the reform school for a period of two years. When she was fifteen she committed her first robbery and for this was sentenced to prison for five years in New York. About two months after her discharge from prison she was arrested in New York in a stabbing affray and sent to Mattewan Hospital, where she remained for about a month and a half. At twenty-two she was again sentenced to prison for stealing and from that time until she was thirty-nine years of age she was constantly in prison or in insane hospitals. At St. Elizabeth's Hospital she was regarded as not insane, and was returned to prison. In prison she killed another inmate and was returned to the hospital. She came to Detroit when she was thirty-nine years of age and married here. Shortly after her arrival she was arrested for larceny and fined as above noted.

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Bursam Bill Threatens National Park System.—A bill to define the rights of the Mescalero Apache Indians in the Mescalero Indian Reservation, providing for an allotment of certain lands therein in severalty to the Mescalero Apache Indians and creating and defining the All Year National Park, was introduced into the senate by Senator Bursam of New Mexico on April 28, 1922; recommended on June 14 and again on July 5 by Secretary Fall, also of New Mexico; reported favorably without public hearing by the committee on Indian affairs of which Senator Spencer is chairman, and passed by the senate on July 7 by unanimous consent and without a record vote. On August 17 the senate bill reached the house which had been taking a summer vacation, and was referred to the committee on Indian affairs.

Quick work this, when it is remembered that the Barbour bill to create the Roosevelt-Sequoia National Park by enlarging the present Sequoia National Park to include the marvelous Kings River Canyon has never come to a vote in the house although the committee on public lands, after a public hearing before which the leading civic and scientific organizations of the country supported the bill in the interests of the public welfare, reported the bill favorably on January 12, 1922.

The Bursam bill would accomplish in the affairs of the Mescalero Indians a number of purposes which we are not competent to judge but which we are willing to accept on the recommendation of the committee on Indian affairs. When it comes, however, to creating a national park by authorizing the secretary of the interior to select scattered parcels of land within an Indian reservation and setting up a confused administration in which the national park service, the bureau of Indian affairs and the reclamation service might all take a hand, the American Civic Association and other organizations which have paid special attention to park administration believe that the bill should be amended to eliminate numerous undesirable features. We have, therefore, requested the house committee on Indian affairs to hold a public hearing on the bill in order that the organizations which maintain a "watch service" in behalf of the people may present their views.

The Bursam bill has made the friends of the national parks realize as never before that the national park service has developed a stable policy in regard to qualifications which lands should meet if they are to be incorporated into the national park system and a singleness of purpose in their administration. By admitting to the national park system only lands which justly can be defended against commercial encroachments because of their outstanding national

qualifications can we have any assurance that we can maintain the national parks of the country for the benefit and enjoyment of all the people.

HARLEAN JAMES.

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The New York Literacy Test for Voters.—It will be recalled that under a constitutional amendment adopted last year, new voters in New York will be compelled to undergo a literacy test. A literacy test, however excellent it may be in rinciple, is always difficult to apply and the New York provision, drafted after a great deal of discussion and consultation with civic organizations, is not wholly acceptable to the latter.

The law adopted provides that each polling place shall be supplied with one hundred extracts from the state constitution of approximately fifty words each, printed on pasteboard slips. Unless a new voter can present a certificate signed by the head of a recognized school in the place in which he lives, he shall be compelled to draw one of these slips at random and to read all the matter thereon, and then to write ten words in English. But if the new voter prefers he may undergo examination at the hands of a public school principal or head of other registered school, and if the examination is satisfactory the principal or head shall give him a certificate which shall be accepted by the election board.

The New York State Association, which took part in framing this provision, urged that jurisdiction over the administration of the test should be placed exclusively in the hands of the educational authorities, but was unable to secure more than the compromised arrangement outlined above. The friends of the literacy provision admit that this test is defective, but as yet no psychological or intelligence tests have been developed to the point that they merit adoption. It remains to be seen how effective this provision is and how much it will be abused in practice.

✻

Progress in Municipal Street Cleaning in Philadelphia.—For many years Philadelphia remained the one large city in the country whose street cleansing services were in the hands of private contractors. Aside from the efficiency of the work the political aspects of this manner of doing business were intolerable. The work was done by contractors who were also political bosses. The rule that contracts were never let for more than a year at a time successfully eliminated independent competitors, and it was only after years of agitation that the new charter was able to secure for the city the power to do its own street cleaning.

Beginning with January 1 of this year all the city cleansing services—street cleaning, ash, rubbish and garbage collection and disposal—were put on a direct municipal basis in all districts. Since then there has been general satisfaction with the service rendered. The budget allowance for the past year was considerably less than that for previous contract work although this was to be expected because of lower price levels. It is probable, however, that a saving over the budget allowance will be made.

Last month bids were opened for the construction of a refuse destructor which is the first of several that are proposed. The construction of modern refuse plants is looked upon as being one of the principle gains of the change from contract to municipal work, since it was impossible to compel contractors to erect such plants under the one year contract arrangement.

✻

Municipal Savings Banks.—In Scotland, where, we are told, people do not play fast and loose in money matters, the movement for municipal savings banks has caught on. In England, Birmingham remains the only city to try the experiment. The model followed, writes the *Municipal Journal*, is the bank in Kirkintilloch, which has been in operation two years, and which arose from a desire to procure cheaper money for city purposes. Depositors were offered one-half per cent more than the Scottish banks paid. Receipts were used to redeem loans contracted at higher rates and to finance activities with cheaper money than could otherwise be secured. In spite of unemployment and dull trade there has been a steady growth in the accounts of the bank.

✻

The Second Number of "The City's Business," now being published by the St. Paul Bureau of Municipal Research points out that the street paving already planned (two-thirds of which has been contracted for) will cost a million dollars. Of this the city must pay $220,000 with only $33,600 on hand and no provision for funds in next year's budget. It isn't a difficult matter for politicians to promise to pave streets or even to let contracts, but payment for same is often left to the next administration.

II. CITY MANAGER NOTES

Manager Locke of Grand Rapids reports that good money is being made on its $4,000,000 investment in a municipal water works system. It cleared about $180,000 during the last year, thus earning about 4½ per cent on its investment. Rates are low, service good, and the city gets many advantages in the matter of water supply under the new administrative system.

✻

Manager Macky of Newburgh, New York, suspended himself from the position of city manager, pending investigation, on accusation made by the local "news butcher" that information had come to "our office" that the city manager was to have received $6,000 commission on the sale of a high school site. The city council laughed at the charge, because the manager has no control over the schools. Manager Macky, however, refused to consider it a joke and suspended himself, pending investigation. Major Macky's first act after being appointed city manager was to reduce his salary from $5,000 to $3,500.

✻

Manager T. V. Stephens, Excelsior Springs, Missouri, has secured by competitive bidding an offer of 4.81 per cent interest on the daily bank balance as against a previous 2.9 per cent rate.

✻

Manager C. E. Douglas of Lawton, Oklahoma, secured a judgment against the county for $12,000 penalties on delinquent taxes due the city.

✻

Local petitions are being circulated in Sacramento and Long Beach, California, for the purpose of abolishing the manager plan. Neither seem to be considered seriously.

✻

Editorial Comments favoring manager government have appeared in the San Francisco (California) *Chronicle*, Reidsville (North Carolina) *Review*, Marysville (California) *Democrat*, Tallahasse (Florida) *Daily Democrat*, Atchison (Kansas) *Daily Globe*, Grand Junction (Colorado) *Sentinel*, Albuquerque (New Mexico) *Journal*, Waltham (Massachusetts) *News*.

✻

Manager Elliot of Wichita, Kansas, is fighting the gas company.

Manager Hawkins of El Dorado, Kansas, started the publication of a municipal sheet called "Our Public Service."

✻

Active Interest in city manager government is in evidence in National City, California, Barberton, Ohio, El Paso, Texas, Knoxville, Tennessee, Chester, Pennsylvania, Cordele, Georgia, Bridgeport, Connecticut, Redford, Michigan, El Reno, Oklahoma, Hoquiam, Washington, Milford, Massachusetts, Berkeley, California, Baker, Oregon, Warrenton, Oregon, Red Lodge, Montana, Waukegon, Illinois, and Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.

✻

The "Outs" in Grand Rapids are again proposing amendments to the city charter, which are simply modifications of those overwhelmingly defeated a few months ago.

✻

M. P. Tucker succeeds Homer C. Campbell as chief administrator of Akron, Ohio. Mr. Tucker has been superintendent of water works and service director. Indications are that he will give Akron a worthy administration.

✻

Friends of A. W. D. Hall will be surprised to learn that he has resigned as manager of Tampa to accept a position as city engineer on the new water front terminals. A $600,000 bond issue for this purpose was recently voted.

✻

Boyd A. Bennett, former director of public service and assistant city manager of Lynchburg, Virginia, succeeded Walter Washabaugh as manager of Charlottesville, Virginia, September 1.

✻

L. S. Looney was appointed manager of Decatur, Georgia, July 1.

✻

Managers Reeves of Glendale, California, and Streed of Kenilworth, Illinois, have had their salaries raised $50 and $100 a month respectively.

✻

W. M. Rich, who left Goldsboro, North Carolina, August 1, became active manager of Alexandria, Virginia, September 1, at a salary of $5,000. His former salary was $4,500.

PAUL B. WILCOX.